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ABSTRACT

This document studies the role of unions, management, government, and education agencies (the social partners) in vocational training in Italy. Through an analysis of existing and historical structures governing cooperation and coordination between the social partners and the public bodies responsible for vocational education and training, an in-depth investigation was carried out and proposals for improved dialogue at various levels were made. This report is organized in five chapters. Chapter 1 discusses the analytical frame of reference, including the premises and the questions of the study, the diachronic dimension of the training system in Italy, difficulties of the system, and the contemporary crisis of the system. Chapter 2 outlines new trends in participation in the training system, and Chapter 3 examines vocational training in three sectors: the construction industry, the banking sector, and the metal industry. Case studies are included. Chapter 4 is a survey of the attitudes of the social partners toward participation in vocational training, and Chapter 5 contains a summary and conclusions, as well as a note for future change precipitated by the present crisis. (KC)

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CEDEFOP Document

The role of the social partners in vocational training in Italy

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

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The role of the social partners
in vocational training
in Italy

The project was carried out by a work group composed of:
N. Catalano, P. Fiorentino, L. Forlani, P. Garonna (coordinator), F. Sala, M. Spatafora and D. Valcavi.

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Foreword

This study is one of a series of 12 monographs on the situation in the EC Member States. Through an analysis of existing and historical structures governing cooperation and coordination between the social partners and the public bodies responsible for vocational education and training (excluding general secondary education and university education), it was intended:

a) to carry out an in-depth investigation of the situation commencing with the central regulatory instruments and decision-making levels. These investigations were to examine the situation at regional, local and enterprise levels as well as in industrial sectors in EC Member States, and

b) to develop proposals for the contents and objectives of an improved social dialogue at the various levels.

The reports comprise two sections: a general analysis and a sectoral analysis.

Although the general analysis was, as far as possible, to be reinforced by the sectoral analysis, the two were to be complementary, whereas the conclusions were to be directed more towards objective (b).

The general analysis of the historical development, institutional involvement and problem areas was also to include a description of the current situation with regard to the links between the world of work (employees, employers, industrial sectors and enterprises) and the world of vocational training (in-company, inter company/group training, school-based training - both initial and continuing - private, public and independent vocational training sponsors).

Furthermore, attention was to focus on the degree and nature of the involvement of the social partners in the development, implementation, administration and control of training policy programmes, including the extent and nature of state intervention within the framework of this involvement. The following aspects were to be included:

- analysis of legal regulations and collective framework agreements (education, labour market and social legislation, nature and extent of the autonomous powers of the social partners in the field of vocational training as specified in general collective agreements, sectoral agreements and typical enterprise-related agreements), and

- investigation of the problems relating to existing cooperative approaches to vocational training, particularly with a view to the equal distribution of training provision amongst various target groups (women, young people, adults, early school leavers, foreigners, etc.) and amongst the various regions and sectors, and finally

- description of the different methods of state intervention aimed at promoting the social dialogue on the basis of selected situations and regions or sectors.

In order to illustrate and give a realistic description of the existing situation, the nature and extent of cooperation amongst the social partners and government bodies were to be analysed in three sectors:

- in a sector dominated by small and medium enterprises or craft industries, e.g. the construction sector;
- in a sector characterized by modern industrial technology, e.g. the metal or electronics industries, and
- in a sector in which services and the employment of female labour are predominant, e.g. banks and insurance companies.

In these sectors the intention was to analyse and compare work-place, employment and occupational structures (hierarchy) in specific areas in which appropriate data were available. The aim was to identify any differences in the social relationships between employees and employers, and to evaluate the involvement and participation of employees and their organizations in initial and continuing vocational training activities, including any eventual implications for career advancement.

The sectoral analysis was intended to illustrate the more general analyses and assessments, and to substantiate and supplement the findings with concrete descriptions. In this connection, the intention was not to carry out case studies but rather to evaluate existing studies and collective agreements between the social partners in respect of initial and continuing vocational training.

The research work was usually accompanied at national level by individual ad hoc meetings between the institute(s) under contract and the three Management Board members from the respective country, and at EC level by regular discussions organized by CEDEFOP and the contractual partners from other Member States.

The investigation covered a period of seven months. In the second half of 1986, the studies were carried out in Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom and they were concluded in early 1987. The studies in the other Member States were conducted in the course of 1987. A synthesis report to be prepared on the basis of the twelve country reports, will attempt to collate systematically the most important conclusions, common trends and results in order to promote the dialogue between those concerned both in the Member States and at EC level.

The individuals, independent scientists and scientific institutes under contract were, of course, free to adapt the set outline for all twelve investigations to the prevailing conditions and existing institutional framework in their respective countries.

On behalf of the authors, too, I should like to extend my sincere thanks to the members of the CEDEFOP Management Board from the respective Member States and to the numerous experts and individuals from the enterprises, training and other bodies, and to employers' and trade union organizations for their support in this work. We hope that this investigation will help to promote better and constructive understanding, despite the existence of very different interests, and thus lead to satisfactory solutions to the prevailing problems facing the development of initial and continuing vocational training. Thanks are also extended to the team of authors for the fruitful and successful cooperation on what was certainly not an easy subject for investigation.

B. Sellin
Project Coordinator

INTRODUCTION

The system by which the social partners participate in vocational training in Italy is undergoing a process of deep transformation. The transformation involved emerges at the intersection between the changes taking place in the training system and those occurring in the industrial-relations system: on the one hand, the field of vocational training has become crucial terrain for confrontation and debate, while on the other, the roles of the partners condition the training mechanisms. The present phase is,therefore, characterised by a widespread awareness of the state of crisis and the emergence, on a trial-and-error basis,.of new tendencies and experimentations, aimed at overcoming the drawbacks of inefficacy in participation in the training process, with a view to restoring to the industrial-relations system both credibility and functionality, while rendering training more adequate to the needs of enterprise and the workers.

The purpose of the present report is to identify and discuss in prescriptive terms the critical aspects of the mechanisms behind the participation of the social partners and new and innovating tendencies, so as to offer a basis upon which to put forward operative proposals for reform intervention. Therefore, the presentation is goal-orientated and analytically selective, without claiming to be exhaustive. In the Appendixes we have given an outline of the descriptive background and the statistical data elaborated during the research.

In the report we proceed, from a methodological point of view,by a series of successive approximations from interpretative to concrete mechanisms: the opposite was impossible due to the lack of sources sufficient to develop the soundings empirically at a quantatively significant and statistically interpreta ble level.

In chapter 1 we present, in schematic form, an analytical reference picture which illustrates the basic hypothesis of the work, that is the correspondence between training systems and industrial relations. The hypothesis is supported both by a comparative scheme of the taxonomical models referred to a number of different national syatems, and by an identification of the historical phases in the Italian system. The two schemes (diachronic and synchronic) help to characterize the present situation with regard to the decline of the "trilateral agreement" model within the training system, and to the tendency towards selective "importation" or original "imitation" of various foreign experiences.

In chapter 2 we describe synthetically those which we consider to be the qualifying tendencies of the evolution taking place. To this end we make use of synoptic tables of the novelties in legislation, in collective contracts and in firm-level agreements stipulated by a number of enterprises to give an idea of the structure of the initiatives, of the range of the questions involved and of the main differences and similarities.

Reference to a number of particular sectorial and regional experiences, which permitted us to enter more closely into the merits and details of the problem , is the basis of chapter 3 . The analytical matrix, common to the other national studies in the CEDEFOP programme, offers a picture of sectors within traditional industry (building), within the advanced (metal and mechanical) area and within the services (banking), and examines regions of the north (Lombardy), of the centre (Tuscany) and the south (southern Latium). These three areas examined corrispond with the three models of development and underdevelopment that have been pointed out by recent literature (Bagnasco,Becattini, Brusco, Fuà, Paci) and which have been defined as the "Three Italies".

We carried out a survey (chapter 4) by means of selective interviews with representative observers concerning the attitude of the social partners with regard to participation in training, trying to grasp those elements of a critical and prescriptive nature that the analysis of the parners themselves emphasised, availing of the benefits offered by the fact that the survey was technical and non-official. The outcome is an amply critical,sometimes ruthless picture of the role of the social partners and a useful indication of the intervention priorities and of trends in research and experimentation in this field. Both the diagnosis and the quest for solutions prospected proved to be in line with our hypothesis; but the survey permitted us to avoid indulging simply in the discussion of our own judgement and proposals (thus avoiding the risks of personal and "external" judgement and the risk of excessive caution) and allowed us to make use of the concepts and"words"of the social partners themselves to discuss the difficulties and the prospects.

The report closes (chapter 5) with a synthesisof the principal results and indications for further research: the conclusions reached, in fact, must be considered as interlocutory and a first step.towards more detailed inquiries which, following a specific method, should identify the positions of individual workers and of single companies.

We are grateful to all those who offered us their advice,information and documentation, thus helping ud to carry out our research, in particular the representatives of the Ministry for Labour and the social partners, the participants at the seminars of October 1986 and February 1987, during which we presented and discussed the preliminary findings of the research; the Ministry for Labour and the Presidency of the Council of Ministers for having backed and acted as host to the seminars and the work meetings; to Kay McCarthy for skillfully translating the report (written in Italian) and trying to make English sense out of Continental culture , and finally, Mrs. Pia Cardillo without whose patient and expert secretarial work this report might never have seen the light.

P.G.
for the work group.

CHAPTER 1

The analytical frame of reference

1.1 The premises and the questions

Recently, in Italy and in the rest of Europe, one notices a renewal of interest in the way training systems function, both in terms of political and cultural discussion and of conflict between the social partners regarding the questions of control, running and financing of training processes.

These aspects of consent and conflict, of dialogue and confrontation among the social partners on the matter of vocational training have not received sufficiently exhaustive treatment by researchers and writers. What is wanting in particular is a systematic approach to the study of the relationship between the evolution of the training system and the transformation of the industrial-relations system. In fact, there has been no complete analysis of how the different forms of supply and the characteristics of training programmes are related. There has been no study either of how they interact with the demands of the social and production system and the objectives and strategies of the subjects of the system itself and how the structuring and the organization of the training processes determine and are determined by the structuring/segmentation of the labour market. That, however, relations between the social categories and the institutional parties must enter into the structuring of the vocational training system may appear obvious if we consider two fundamental functions of vocational training:

1) on the one hand the acquisition, transmission and development of knowledge and labour skills;

2) on the other the definition of the position of the various partners within the employment set-up, within the labour market and the social system.

The basic hypothesis of the research wishes to establish a specific and precise corrispendence between relations between the social partners and training processes. We hold that the correspondence between the different phases in the evolution of the vocational training system and the history of industrial relations is no mere by-product of a vague and general homeostatic interdependence between the social and productive systems, but that it stems from a historically specific relationship between the crisis of industrial relations and the crisis of professional training, and that, therefore, it is of vital importance in order to re-establish conditions of functionality and consent within the social and productive system.

The subject , therefore, of the research is the role played by the social partners in vocational training, and the changes that this role undergoes in relation to the transformation of the system and of the real processes of training; but also the role (in the strategic-functional sense) played by vocational training within the framework of interaction (conflict and collaboration) between the social partners. Therefore,the historical dimension and the attempt to define plausibly the different phases in the historical evolution of the role of the partners in vocational training,assume primary importance.

1.2 The reference models

Let us take as our point of departure, for the sake of comparison, an attempt at creating a taxonomy of possible and credible models of training systems drawn up on the basis of the role played by the social partners (see Garonna-Ryan):

1) the selective exclusion of the young or the waiting-line model, aimed at preventing competition with and substitution of employed

adults. This model implies job security for the employed and prevalence of training outside the firms ("parking"). Training within the firms, when not on-the -job, is limited to retraining of adult workers to suit the runnings of the internal market or aimed at the absorption of redundant workers laid off on account of restructuring. In this model the direct involvement of the social partners in the training processes is generally low, but involvement, mediated by the institutions may be high.

2) The model of regulated and "subordinate" inclusion both of young and adult workers coming from the external market through a structured training system outside of enterprise and in close connection with the educational system. This system is compatible with a regulated but significant turnover on the external labour market and with internal, but not rigidly closed markets.

3) The model of "unregulated competition" between workers, with a revitalization of the secondary market (of labour and jobs), the marginalization of training, the costs of and the responsability for which are placed upon the shoulders of the single workers. By definition this model excludes any kind of involvement by the social partners.

The first model, in order to function effectively requires (at least two important basic conditions:

1) first of all a continuous growth of employment in a context of ample supply of labour.

This was the case, for example, of the Italian economy of the second post-war period. When this growth ceases, the voluntary turnover tends to become rigid and the guarantee of job security becomes binding, thus creating conditions of rigidity and the block of the outflow towards the external market, This makes all sectorial shift of labour and any kind of industrial reconversion difficult.

2) The second condition is of a micro-economic nature and concerns a strongly internalised organization of the labour markets with a Tayloristic structuring of the production processes and fragmentatio of tasks, standardising and deskilling of the job content. The need to make production modules flexible and skills multifunctional causes the need to open up the external market and/or retrain staff.

This creates a crisis within seniority patterns, within automatic career advancement mechanisms and job security systems : all necessary to the working of the model.

The second model, on the other hand, allows for some forms of employment and unemployment sharing. The consensual and co-managed use of in-firm training allows for a better regulation of labour inflows and outflows and of mobility on the external market. This model, therefore, has shown itself better able to support the pressures caused by economic crisis and by intensive technological change, even if it becomes difficult to apply in the case of acute unemployment. It is particularily suited to labour markets of the "occupational" type, that is markets based upon systems of classification and organization of skills and trades on the external market (Marsden).

The third model is more abstract and ideological; even where it has been promoted and preached by Governments in office it has not been very rigorously applied.

These three schemes of interpretation have no claim to realism, even if - only by way of illustration- we might associate the first with the French and Italian experience, the second with Germany, Sweden and Austria, the third with the United States and Great Britain . The tendency that seems to emerge, according to us, in the chief industrialised countries is the "dilution" or the "enrichment" of the basic model of vocational training and that one notes also some interesting hypotheses of convergence. For example, in France and Italy, where the selective exclusion model prevails, there have been, recently, interesting signs of a possible evolution towards "inclusion" accompanied by a significant strengthening of the negotiations role of the partners. This is the case, for example, of the reduction of apprentice salaries stipulated in a number of collective contracts in the artisan sector. This points to an interest on the part of the trade unions in re-evaluating and re-regulating apprenticeship, up to now considered as a mechanism of mere employer exploitation. This is also the case with the hypotheses of regulation, by means of "silent consent" on the part of the social partners, of training programmes in "contratti di formazione-lavoro" or C.F.L. (that is training-employment contracts).

1.3 The diachronic dimension of the training system in Italy

In the system of coordinates that we are creating to the cross-section classification,we add an attempt at analysising the system's historical dimension in order to distinguish different phases in the interaction between the background, technological-organization trends, industrial-relations events and the training system.

In the scheme on page 12 we have indicated three historical phases which correspond with different economic and technological scenarios, applicable to many of the industrialised countries.

The interaction, on the other hand, between matters of industrial relations and the evolution of the training system presents aspects of a very specific nature connected with the historical origins, the culture and the institutions of vocational training and of the social partners in Italy.

During the first phase , which coincides roughly with the fifties, a particular dual system of vocational training with different types of involvement of the social partners, emerges. On the one hand Schools and Centres for vocational training arise as a result of initiatives and contract agreements that involve at local level large enterprises and industrial groups and professional organizations. There was a tendency to externalise and structuralise the training process without,however, delegating it to the public sector, thus leaving to the social partners all the responsability and all the control. From the point of view of the contents, the crafts type qualifications, requested by the traditional industrial sectors in expansion, prevailed. On the other hand, a parallel "school-like" public system, aimed at basic education or re-education,tailored above all for the "parking" and selection of the unemployed and at lessening social tension, emerged.

Over the years we witness an increase in importance of the public system and a growing interest on the part of the social partners in taking active part in the training process through mediation and control of the public structures.

The latest emblematic act in this slow and long process of transition from a prevalently direct type of participation to a prevalently indirect type,mediated by the institutions, may be considered the closing by the CGIL (Trade Union Confederation) of its training institution; an example not followed by the other two main unions. At the same time specific training tends to become internalised with the consequent loss of role by the trade unions,given the organization difficulties encountered at firm level.

In the sixties the consolidation and extension of mass production and Tayloristic organization of labour, out-of-firm (or in-firm theoretical)training loses its importance; apprenticeship is looked upon with suspicion by the unions due to risks of substitution/competition endangering adult workers' jobs.

The involvement of the social partners becomes more antagonistic in connection with both in-factory (apprenticeship) and public-system training. The fundamental points in the social partners' strategies are the following:

1) the unions seek (and obtain) a binding regulation (by legislation and collective contracts) concerning above all apprenticeship and the protection of the rights of student-workers (policy of "rigidity");

2) training is seen simply as a cost for enterprise and as a benefit or a right for workers. Therefore it becomes grounds for

bargaining antagonism as a protection device and a fringe benefit. Not that the aspects of investment in human capital are ignored; but these are considered as being a mere "externality", in that they can not be appropriated by the single enterprises. These tend, therefore, (in the logic of free riding) to make the cost fall upon the shoulders of the public system as far as trade union pressure will allow. This change in outlook can be justified besides by changes in technology and in the organization of production, by the trade-union strategies which permit the emergence of the "implicit agreement or compromise pattern" during those years. The union thereby abandons control of the internal markets, of skills and occupations within the production processes in order to concentrate upon a "political" reunification of the labour market (through the so-called "operaio-massa" or unskilled labour) and the recentralization of the industrial-relations system.

At the basis of theses strategies lie trade union unity and a model of "political tradeunionism" (see Garonna-Pisani,1986) which have come to the fore over the past few years. Training within this framework changes from being a professionalising and socialising mechanism to becoming an instrument for the human and cultural betterment and for improvement of the "political awareness" of the workers (see the so-called 150-hour experience).[*]

The abandoning of apprenticeship, seen as an outdated instrument and as a means of exploiting workers, is emblematic of the union's tendency to renounce control and collective management of skills. The abandoning of control over available jobs and the application of the rate-for-the-job criterion (see "inquadramento unico" and "ugualitarismo" **), were justified by the opportunities of job enrichment and task-rotation that are potentially present in this strategy, even if in practice deskilling prevailed. However this strategy was widely used in negotiations to increase pay at lower levels and flatten differentials by means of automatic advancements that did not modify job content.

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[*] Following the right to study principle recognised by the "Worker's Statute" of 1970, collective contracts established a total yearly amount of paid leave for study purposes, set at 150 hours.

These changes did not occur without difficulty and contradictions. It is worthwhile pointing out, by way of example, the fact that the blocking of turnover caused the aging of the labour force and a tendency for in-firm (or continuing) training, just at the moment when the institutional system tended to shift training processes outside of the firm and reduce enterprise training to mere on-the-job coaching.

Finally, the role of the social partners and of collective bargaining in vocational training has been conditioned by the functions performed by the training system in obtaining, maintaining and managing consent. This was required in order to sustain the complex agreement or social compromise which has been the basis of the "flexibility" of the institutional mechanisms and of the labour market. With a view to this, the contribution of the social partners has been determined in relation with the function of "flexibility" of the labour market,even if it is necessary to underline the fact that the model of flexibility that has developed in recent years is specific to the Italian socio-institutional situation (see Garonna-Pisani 1986). With regard to other more traditional functions of training, that is, the

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** The first term indicated the classification mechanism introduced in the 1973 contracts whereby wage-earners and salaried employees were all placed within the same hierarchical scale of skill and pay The second refers to the Union's strategy of reducing pay differential.

effective transmission of knowledge and skills and the organization of social stratification, the role of the social partners has shown itself , in the long run, to be limited in its impact.

SCHEME

The phases of social,ecomomic and technological evolution in relation to changes in the role of the social partners in training

Phases	Economic scenario	Technological changes	Industrial relations
Phase one The fifties	- reconstruction and industrialization	-development of industrial skills and of new jobs -massive territorial, intersectorial and social mobility.	- Development and widespread of pluralist and complex industrial relations.
Phase two The sixties and early seventies	- "economic miracle" and the development of mass production - opening up to intra-European and worldwide commerce	- Tayloristic organization of work, with deskilling and task division (operaio massa)	- explosion of conflict and institutional innovation - attempts at recentralizing and creating political unity within the industrial relations system.
Phase three the late seventies and the eighties	- economic crisis and stagnation,external constraint and fiscal crisis.	- flexible specializations and productive decentralization - new technologies, restructuring and labour shakeout.	- loss of unity within the trade unions and crisis of the "political tradeunion" model - decentralized initiatives and agreements and new industrial relations.

1.4 Development and difficulties of tri-partite concertation within the training system.

During the seventies, parallelly to the process of recentralization of the industrial-relations system,a training system inspired by the tri-partite concertation model developed. Its basic characteristics may be schematically listed as follows:

1) training by the firm loses importance and with it participation by the social partners in training processes within the firm diminishes. At the same time interest and participation in institutional training,especially in planning and centralised control of the training network, increases symmetrically;

2)apprenticeship loses weight both quantatively and qualitatively as a privileged channel of entry into the productive system for the young. This result is due above all to the limitations laid down by the law and collective bargaining (even if apprenticeship is still important in the submerged economy and in illegal forms of recruiting);

3) the entry of the young into the industrial system is governed institutionally on monopoly principles by list-order hiring within an obsolete framework of occupational classification and administrative mechanisms, and often not applied;

4) training processes fall for the most part under the control of and become the responsability of the public sector, as they are considered an institutional mechanism for the management and operation of the external labour market. In this context the principles upon which the definition of the role of the social partners in the training system is based, are fundamentally three:

1) "deregulation" of the processes of acquisition and transmission of skills within the production process. The explicit and implicit rules system that governs training within the productive process, from apprenticeship to on-the-job coaching, to the firm's school, either disappear or are weakened. This in part answers the need for differentiation of skills due to the integration of the industrial structure and to decentralisation. But above all it reflects the strategies of the social partners that lead to a "legislating regulation" of the production process, that is entrusting the law with the task of defining and protecting the workers' rights within the production process (the Worker's Statute) in the form of positive rights for the single worker,thus displacing collective forms of regulation and control. Rights are also recognised to the workers' *organizations* on the basis of a representation claim, but not to the *organization* of the workers which is left very much to the definition of itself and at the mercy of the power struggle within the political-tradeunion area.

To this impoverishment of the content of participation, determined by delegation to the politico-juridical system corresponds,however, a new and important role of the politically more influential trade union organizations. These organizations began acting as a lobbying force over Parliament to promote legislation and as a controlling pressure-group of considerable social weight (although not always able to have the law respected or even judicially applied) . This deregulation of the actual training processes was achieved by politicizing and re-centralizing collective bargaining by means of "levelling" policies which flattened salary differentials (ugualitarismo), by "inquadramento unico" schemes, by frequent recourse to automatic devices such as the "sliding scale", list-order hiring etc..

2) Training represents an increasingly more important aspect of public subsidies and social assistance to the unemployed. In fact, in the period immediately after the war the training system began to be considered an integral part of unemployment regulation rather that of employment regulation . It developed (in 1949) almost within the same context as the new regulation of the Cassa Integrazione Guadagni,(C.I.G.) that is the Wages Subsidy Fund, and the employment exchange system. In this social protection system, where no unemployment benefit existed nor was desired (as in other countries), where the over-riding interest was that of guaranteeing the employment of the adult male head of the family, the social welfare system was based upon a system of wage Subsidies in defence of employment security and the setting up and utilization of a network of training centres (public, private and semi-public) as centres of alleviation of social stress and of regulating the entry queues. Naturally, the social and political forces (from the religious institutions to the political parties, to the trade unions) played a fundamental role in the management of this institutional network,seen as places for "parking" and educating young people vocationally. Investment in human capital was considered the almost exclusive prepogative of the workers, a sort of fringe benefit, the cost of which was charged in part to the firms. Training was above all a matter of "individual rights", an extention of basic education and a

specialization in cultural "socialization" and in political education (one recalls again the 150-hours experience). Training was, therefore, rooted more in the market than in enterprise, in the provision of culture to the people than in the objective reality of the processes. Even when the single (large) firms developed their own training centres, the participation of the persons involved did not concern so much the transmission of technical skills required **to make** the production processes work or change, but concerned more the relationship with the **external** market,socialization and learning the "culture" of the enterprise.

3) The "organistic" approach of the social **partners** . Pluralism is one of the fundamental characteristics of the Italian **industrial-relations system.** This is not so much (or solely) because different trade unions represent different segments of the labour force, but because different trade unions represent the same sector of occupation and skill.

Membership of a trade-union organization depends, in fact, upon sharing a certain political outlook or ideal regarding the transformation of society, and anyhow does not depend upon shared professional interests. In the seventies the **divisions** and conflicts that represent the pendant of pluralism were considered as a sign of the weakening of the bargaining power of the workers. The unification and strengthening of tradeunionism in the seventies was based upon a process of politicization and recentralization of industrial relations, which made use of the philosophies both of Christian solidarity and of Socialist classism. In this context, the selective nature of specific vocational training, especially when carried out within the firm, was seen as a possible obstacle to effective involvement of the social partners. In fact, it implied the risk of "dividing" the workers on thebasis of jobs and skills. Therefore, the participation was limited to pre-employment and basic training, to the planning and the control of the training system outside the firm.

1.5 The contemporary crisis of the training system and of the industrial-relations system.

In the seventies both systems entered a phase of deep change characterised by timing and modalities such as to suggest important points of interconnection. With the loss of political unity by the trade unions and the weakening of the thrust towards tri-partite planning, the participation of the social partners tends to reach out towards new aspects of training and towards a more direct say in the processes. These trends emerged after the model of training design reached the apex of its application thus showing up fully its weakenesses and the signs of its decline. This took place in the second half of the seventies,particularily during the period of the "national solidarity" Governments. The principal attempts at reform intervention in connection with vocational training in this period may be regarded as emblematic of these weaknesses:

1) Attempts at reforming the public labour exchange system move in the direction of "tri-partite management" of the labour market flows,divided into different phases : information, active intermediation. legislative and bargaining regulation of mobility and re-employment of redundant workers. Even if some of these mechanisms have survived and have been institutionalized by law in the eighties (see chapter below),the prevailing logic has subsequently taken the opposite direction towards flexibility and "de-legification" to allow room for bargaining, especially at local level, and in connection with specific problems (company reorganization courses, apprenticeship etc...)

2) Legislation over the 1977-78 period in favour of youth employment established a new form of entry into the labour market: the "work training contract" or C.F.L. . This instrument in its original formulation corresponded with the tri-partite concertation model and foresaw joint Regional Commissions for the planning, orientation and control of training processes. The results have been unanimously judged as disappointing with regard to the level of usage and efficacy on the youth labour market (see S. Bruno and P. Garonna 1966). The complicated and ambitious administrative machine foreseen by the law for the "thorough" management of labour market currents, including training processes,

involving the social partners, the local authorities and the central state bodies,never became effective, nor did they produce noteworthy results, although it survived in part after 1977. The political agreement on incomes of 1983, the first (and last) macro-economic tri-partite centralised and complete agreement, contained very few provisions regarding training, These few,however, are indicative of the changes taking place: in fact, the agreement marks, from a formal point of view, the maximum point of centralization and political involvement ever reached by the tradeunion confederations and the employers' organizations, and is from this point of view the formal materialization of the tri-partite concertation model. Yet ,from the contents point of view, the intervention philosophy moved decidedly away from that model and towards that of flexibility. In the field of training, the re-regulation for example of the labour training contracts (C.F.L.) is inspired by a flexibilization logic and opens up the way for the legal provisions of 1983-1984 and the 1986 agreements on training and labour, which will make the "contratti formazione lavoro" one of the principal new gateways to employment.

During the eighties, parallelly to the difficulties that the mechanisms for the organization of consent encountered and the deep changes within the industrial-relations system,there emerges a tendency to recover the role of the social partners in training processes in the real sense, that is within the processes of effective transmission of know-how and skills,also in connection with what is required by industrial restructuring and technological change. This is the significance of the transition phase that the role of the social partners is going through in the eighties, where, alongside the (difficult) reform of the "public" system, there are signs (from below) of initiatives and innovatory agreements among the social partners.

The present Report aims at underlining the new trends in this transitional phase.

Chapter 2

New trends in participation in the training process

2.1 An outline of the new trends

Following the industrial crises and the restructuring that appeared especially at the end of the seventies as well as the grave problems connected with unemployment,especially that of the young and of women, important changes have been registered in the strategies and the bahaviour of the social partners with regard to vocational training processes besides the many factors that contribute to the training of workers and to the enrichment and adaptation of skills to meet the needs of the new technologies.

The new strategies pf the social partners have obtained significant confirmation over the past year,especially during bargaining at various levels (national, regional, local and firm) in the form of new mechanisms of information, consultation and management which regard both employment policies in general and vocational training and retraining in particular.

Considering the variety of the collective bargaining levels and the different channels of participation open to the social partners in Italy, we have thought it opportune to condider:

-tradeunion agreements concerning C.F.L. and apprenticeship;

- those parts'of recent national collective contracts concerning problems of vocational training;
- Protocols concerning industrial relations in enterprises based prevalently on state capital;

- agreements of some important companies regarding restructuring processes and subsequent training and retraining plans;

- a number of projects and experiences of joint management of the problems of employment and vocational training at local level;

- the tradeunion agreement with the public sector enterprise organization (Intersind) concerning school and vocational orientation and work/training integration, as well as the experiences in this field conducted by local employers' organizations in collaboration with university and professional institutes;

- the role of some important training institutes created by a number of large companies.

2.2 The agreements regarding C.F.L.

In recent years the intervention of the social partners in the training process,especially with regard to low and mid-to-low manual skills, has been concerned above all with the access of the young to employment.

With regard to these new experiences it is important to point out:

- that they have been foreseen and in part regulated by union agreements only by way of proposal and have required specific legislative intervention concerning at least a number of aspects such as the approval of projects by the administrative organs, recruiting practices (hiring by amployers' selection),social contribution relief etc...
- that in some cases, like C.F.L., the legal norms have been integrated and in part modified by subsequent tradeunion agreements which tended to strengthen the efficacy and the functionality with respect to the training and employment objectives decided uppn.

With regard to the first point the predecessors of the C.F.L. were the "fixed-term training contracts" established in 1983 which were foreseen on an experimental basis for one year by the tri-lateral government-employers-tradeunion agreement of the 22nd. January 1983. The new regulation of C.F.L., made effective by law in 1984, had been foreseen by the Protocol of the 14th February 1984 between the Government, the trade unions and the employers.

The intervention of the social partners was achieved not only through the general tri-lateral agreements mentioned above and concerning incomes and employment policies, but also by means of participation in the definition of the specific legal norms.

As far as the second point is concerned (that is the point concerning tradeunion agreements subsequent to the legal regulations) the intervention of the social partners has played a fundamental role not only in the accelleration, and sometimes the de-regulation, of administrative procedures, but also in the integration of legislative discipline in many different ways (wages, working conditions and the guarantee of adequate training processes within the projects elaborated by the firms). This has created further room for participation by the social partners (Table 1) in particular in defining the outline of training and labour projects which are an integral part of the agreements and in which must be indicated:

- the number of hours to be dedicated to active training which must not be less than a certain total;
- the training modalities; hours dedicated to technical/practical and to theoretical training;
- for those special skills connected with the adoption of new technologies the hours dedicated to specific theoretical/practical training, which must be no less than a certain total;
- the persons chosen to carry out the technical/practical training and to supervise practical application, as well as to teach any theory required;

- the company centre or the vocational training centre where the training programme or part of it is to be carried out, pointing out whether the company, individually or in collaboration with other enterprises, has stipulated an agreement with the region;
- the endorsement by the association to which the firm presenting the project belongs.

According to the trade union agreements, conformity with the agreed outline of projects presented by enterprises belonging to the stipulating organizations "is condition enough to obtain their approval" by the regional employment commissions, at least as far as the commission members belonging to the tradeunion and employers' organizations are concerned.

In those cases where C.F.L. relations are converted into a regular working relationship, the worker must be utilised in activities corrisponding with his training, and the training period converted into career seniority within the company. In the case that the C.F.L. is not converted into a regular working contract within the same company, a number of tradeunion agreements require that the worker receive a certificate declaring the training received, so as to facilitate him in finding a job.

These national agreements incentivated the setting up of a number of important local projects on the basis of agreements between the social partners especially in the small and medium firms. These agreements have caused a strong increase ,in 1986, in the drawing up of projects by the enterprises and above all in the approval of these projects, and have led to the employment of a considerable number of young people under C.F.L. in 1985 and in 1986 (see Table n. 1). On the basis of the data regarding the projects presented, the figures increased from 64,500 to almost 100,000, while the workers employed over the two-year period on C.F.L. increased from about 108,500 to 237,000, of which 142,000 males and 95,000 females, with a monthly rate that almost doubled over the second semester as compared with the first, following the stipulation of the tradeunion agreements (Table 1).

As far as the distribution of the workers over the different sectors is concerned, over 61% were absorbed by industrial enterprise and the rest almost entirly by the services, above all by small-scale companies (72% in concerns with up to 49 employees, about 19% in firms with from 50 to 249, and the remaining 9% in the medium to large companies).

As far as the schooling of those employed is concerned, it emerges that 63% of those employed had only compulsory schooling, over 35% finished high school, while only 2% had a univeristy or third-level degree. This is due to the type of training offered, which is prevalently of the blue-collar type (74.5%) while less than 35.5% is of the white-collar kind.

The introduction of the C.F.L. with wage and social contribution reliefs similar to those of the apprentices, has caused a contraction, even if limited,of this latter type of contract. (Table 2)

For both C.F.L. and apprenticeship, questions concerning the improvement of skill levels both with regard to the persons interested and the training processes, have been posed.

The tendency towrds contraction within apprenticeship has been more marked in non-artisan than in artisan companies. This difference is due, most probably, to the substitution within the first type of firm of apprentice contracts by C.F.L. and to the relaunching of apprenticeship within the artisan sector, achieved through the 1983 tradeunion agreement and subsequent national contract. The effects of these contracts can be seen only within some sectors (weaving and clothing) in some regions and for 1984 and 1985, the only years for which data supplied by the Ministry for Labour were available (Table 3). According to tradeunion sources, in 1986 the artisan sector absorbed about 20,000 young apprentices.

A new general agreement between the Artisans' Confederations and the CGIL-CISL-UIL contains specific clauses concerning both C.F.L. and apprenticship, where the first will be used for people over twenty, while the second will regard lower skills.

To conclude, one notes in the first phase a prevalence of the employment over the training objective in C.F.L.. This is shown also by the level of the skills aimed at by many projects and by the type of activities in which the young people are placed (1), as well as by the context of the laws promoting and sustaining juvenile employment that have accompanied the contracts themselves

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1)D. Petrella: I contratti di formazione e lavoro in Lombardia, in QUADERNI DI RASSEGNA SINDICALE n. 116,Sept. Oct. 1985.

such as the law for the development and promotion of youth enterprise in the South, the law for the upkeep and safeguard of cultural and artistic property and that concerning extraordinary measures for training and employing especially in those areas and those categories of unemployment considered as being at greater disadvantage.

To these shortcomings in the training content can be added difficulties created by the type of enterprise taking advantage of the C.F.L.: that is, prevalently small-scale firms.Another difficulty is created by the inability of those regions involved to set up real training programmes (2).

We must, at the same time, underline the most interesting qualitative aspects of the projects that have been presented over the last few years. They are connected both with the level of skill required and the organization of the training activity. This derives from a more careful and wide-reaching planning at local level due to the initiative and pressure of the social partners, such as the pilot-project for C.F.L. of the Turin Industrial Employers' Association and a series of projects elaborated above all by the Northern regions (Lombardy, Liguria,Veneto and Emilia) involving not only industrial enterprise but also modern-type tertiary concerns (banking,insurance,finance etc.).

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(2)SeeISFOL Report 1986 pp. 160-161.

The improvement of the C.F.L. experience with regard to training objectives has come about not only due to initiatives at negotiations level but also due to a more mature awareness by the social partners of the role of training and of training needs, as stated in recent conferences and documents (3).

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(3) See the Confindustria's seminars on vocational training and education as well as the most recent documents published by the tradeunion organizations, and the experiences of a number of public experiences.

TABLE 1

AGREEMENTS REGARDING CFL

Public-sector metal and mechanical firms (National Contract: 24th.Jan. 1987)	Tourism (hotels, restaurants etc.) 17th.June 1986.	Confindustria agreement of the 7th.Nov. 1985.
Promotion of greater use of CFL in implementing: -amplification of procedures for approval of projects: -extention to CFL of collective contract norms; - introduction of "salario d'ingresso" as wage discounts for the newly-hired; - establishment of a minimum number of hours of theoretical-practical training; -obligation to take on the youths trained, in case of employment, in activities corrisponding to those trained for.	Undertaking to promote CFL: - to guarantee acquisition of targetted skills; -to participate with the regions in defining the guidelines, programmes and the training structures; -simplify the procedures for approval of training projects; -to define pay and normative contents.	Obligation for the firms to present projects following a pre-established scheme; Acceleration of the procedures for the examination and approval of projects by the Regional Employment Commission; Extention to CFL of the norms contained in collective contracts; Establishement of the maximum duration of the trial period; "Entrance Salary"; The duration and the modalities of the training activities must corrispond with the levels of skill required, and the training must not be less than those established in the abovementioned scheme; People hired following CFL must be given tasks corrisponding with training.

Note: CONFININDUSTRIA: Association of Private Industry Employers.

CFL

Confapi (small and medium-sized industrial firms) contract; 7th. Nov. 1985	Artisans (regional and local agreements)
The training project must indicate the vocational iter and the trainees position in the employemnt structure before and after CFL; The contract shall have a duration of no more than 24 months and shall corrispond with effective training requirements; The firm shall guarantee adequate theoretical and practical training under the guidance of specialised staff; The theoretical training may be carried out by taking part in the courses held by the regional contres in connection with the programmes in which the social partners shall have a say; At the conclusion of the contract the firm shall issue a certificate to be recognised by the employment offices; The norms of the tradeunion agreements and contracts shall be applied, except for some pay conditions.	Definition of the criteria and the modalities for the stipulation of CFL: - the projects will be examined and endorsed by a Joint Technical Commission; - the minimum and maxiumum duration of the contracts has been set down on the basis of the skill levels required for the tasks to be performed; - the training activity must not occ py less than 20% of the total training time; -A copy of the project must be given to the trainee himself.

Tab. 1

Table 1 : Young people hired on C.F.L.

Periods	Overall total	Workers employed									education			Sectors of the economy						Firm sizes			
		Age groups									Compulsory school	High school	Univ.	Agriculture		Industry		Services		Up to 49	From 50 to 249	From 250 to 499	over 500
		15 - 18			19 - 24			25 - 29															
		T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F				b-c	w-c	b-c	w-c	b-c	w-c				
1) from 1/2/1983 to 31/1/'84 (art.8 L.79/83)	162.442	30.358	19.563	10.975	100.829	68.874	31.955	31.075	22.357	8.718	128.554	33.070	818	4.302	275	101.445	14.322	29.032	13.066	117.549	33.199	6.051	5.641
% on total		18,69	12,04	6,75	62,08	42,40	19,68	19,13	13,76	5,37	79,14	20,36	0,50	2,65	0,17	62,45	8,82	17,87	8,04	72,36	20,44	3,72	3,48
2) from 1/1/'85 to 31/12/'85	108.434	14.174	8.091	6.083	74.287	44.014	30.273	19.973	12.971	7.002	67.705	38.961	1.768	328	130	52.018	13.726	18.200	23.982	76.102	21.498	5.249	5.506
% on total		13,07	7,46	5,61	68,51	40,58	27,92	18,42	11,96	6,46	62,44	35,93	1,63	0,31	0,12	47,98	12,66	16,79	22,14	70,18	19,83	4,84	5,08
3) from 1/1/'86 to 31/12/'86	236.930	32.079			159.349			45.502			148.907	83.484	4.459	821	268	111.443	33.907	41.228	49.263	170.528	44.089	12.253	10.060
% on total		13,54			67,26			19,20			62,88	35,23	1,89	0,34	0,11	47,04	14,31	17,40	20,80	71,97	18,60	5,18	4,25

Notes:

1) "Temporary contracts with training aims". These contracts did not require projects to be approved of by the Regional Employment Commissions nor offered "entrance salaries" nor fiscal relief.

2) Training contracts according to art. 3 of Law 863/84. These contracts required approval of projects, no entrance salary, but provided for fiscal relief.

3) CFL according to art. 3 of the above law and to a number of tradeunion agreements. This type offered accellerated procedures for projects approved by the T.U., an entrance salary and fiscal relief.

b-c means blue collar

w-c means white collar

Source: Adapted from data provided by the Ministry for Labour.

Tab. 2

APPRENTICES EMPLOYED ON 31st. August over the last years

years	Number of apprentices employed	Differences compared with the previous years in numbers	Differences compared with the previous years in percentages
1981	711.688	- 26.505	- 3,59
1982	687.251	- 24.437	- 3,43
1983	599.183	- 88.068	- 12,81
1984	554.451	- 44.732	- 7,47
1985	545.052	- 9.399	- 1,7

Territorial distribution of apprentices on the 31st. August 1985

	Apprentices employed in the artisan sector			Apprentices in the non-artisan industries			Apprentices employed in all firms			% on industrial employees.
	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	
Northern Italy	135.916	73.303	209.219	56.873	45.328	102.201	192.789	118.631	311.420	9,00
Central Italy	49.305	25.275	74.580	20.626	14.440	35.026	69.931	39.675	109.606	10,82
Southern Italy	44.808	20.661	65.469	20.835	14.729	35.564	65.643	35.390	101.033	9,70
Insular Italy	11.872	3.117	14.989	5.000	3.004	8.004	16.872	6.121	22.993	
TOTAL	241.901	122.356	364.257	103.334	77.461	180.795	345.235	199.817	545.052	

Source: General report on the economic situation of Italy 1985

TABLE 3

APPRENTICES EMPLOYED BY ARTISAN FIRMS

BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY	figures on the 31st Aug 84				Figures on the 31st. Aug. 85			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Mining	140	270	1.93	0.07	194	289	1.49	0.08
Manufacturing	125.459	266.066	2.13	72.79	126.434	266.066	2.10	72.93
a) Foodstuffs	6.815	11.417	1.68	3.11	7.126	11.828	1.66	3.24
b) Tobacco	41	71	1.73	0.02	14	32	2.29	0.01
c) Skin and leather	3.799	10.449	2.75	2.85	3.805	10.094	2.65	2.77
d) Textiles	2.374	6.008	2.53	1.64	2.580	6.943	2.69	1.90
e) Clothing,fashion furnishings etc.	314	71.494	2.82	19.50	26.327	74.256	2.82	20.35
f) Wood	.749	25.175	1.71	6.37	14.744	24.394	1.69	6.32
g) Paper etc.	1.125	2.466	2.19	0.67	1.029	2.277	2.21	0.63
h) Printing etc.	3.566	7.684	2.15	2.10	3.674	7.338	2.00	2.01
i) Photo,phono, cinema	1.568	2.211	1.41	0.60	699	1.266	1.81	0.35
j) metal work	5.424	9.236	1.70	2.52	5.272	9.175	1.74	2.51
m) mechanical	51.791	101.235	1.95	27.61	51.865	98.100	1.89	26.89
n) transformation of non-metallic minerals (not coal,petrol)	2.893	5.904	2.04	1.61	2.936	5.539	1.89	1.52
o) Chemicals etc.	1.845	5.110	2.77	1.39	1.853	5.143	2.78	1.41
p) elastic rubber	706	1.426	2.02	0.39	689	1.538	2.23	0.42
q) various manufactured goods	3.449	7.001	2.03	1.91	3.821	7.643	2.00	2.10
- Installations	37.659	57.748	1.53	15.75	36.382	54.710	1.50	15.00
- Electricity,gas water production and distribution	1.341	2.026	1.51	0.55	1.000	1.566	1.57	0.43
-Transport etc. (communications)	117	158	1.35	0.04	130	170	1.31	0.05
-Commerse,Tourism	5.403	8.127	1.50	2.22	5.332	8.587	1.61	2.35
Banking,finance	241	381	1.58	0.10	141	378	2.68	0.10
Various services	20.043	31.086	1.55	8.48	20.232	33.055	1.63	9.06
Overall total	190.403	366.683	1.93	100.00	189.845	364.821	1.92	100.00

Source:Ministry for Lbaour data.

A: number of firms registered
B: number of apprentices
C: average n. of apprentices per firm
D: distribution of apprentices in percentages.

2.3 Patterns of participation established by national labour contracts.

The national labour contracts, which are the framework of the bargaining system, have included in their renewal negotiations significant novelties in connection also with training and retraining processes, as can be seen in Table 2 where a synthesis of the ten contracts covering the industrial and services sectors is given, along with a number of contracts regulating private and public enterprises and small to medium firms.

From the analysis of the contents it emerges above all that the problem of vocational training has been given more ample treatment than in the past even by secters, such as the banking sector, where tradeunion involvement found room only at firm level. This has occurred nearly always within the broader ambit of the information and general consultation mechanisms foreseen for the different levels (national,regional local and firm), regarding programmes of development, of technological innovation and employment relative to the sectors and to the companies.

Such patterns of information and consultation,introduced into the national contracts towards the end of the seventies on the basis of experiences carried out previously by the larger companies, have been noticeably modified on the basis of the following criteria:

- the search for a greater functionality and correspondence to the problem of development, technological innovation, of employment and working conditions. This also meant renouncing the increase in the quantity of the information pursued by the former contracts, and privileging local and regional training (small and medium metal and mechanical concerns, sectors with high levels of productive units such as wood, furniture and tourism) over firm-level training regarded as essential for sectors with large-scale units such as the chemical sector;

- the contribution of "Observatories" and data banks run by joint committees and regarding, in particular, the introduction of the new technologies,employment trends, with particular stress upon youth and female employment, and the consequent training processes, thus passing from a phase of information to one of joint management by the partners;

- new systems of definition and management of skill structures with particular emphasis on the need for continuing and recurring training, as well as retraining processes, connected with the introduction of the new technologies and with restructuring of enterprise, to offer valid support to vocational mobility and the upgrading of skill levels;

- the setting up of training and retraining courses for those workers interested in inter-enterprise mobility and who are obliged to attend them so as not to lose their salary integration benefits (C.I.G.);

-the definition for the first time, in application of law n 190/1985, of a specific area for middle management (the "cadres") with specific information on company programmes and adequate professional training activities;

- the constitution of joint commissions at national and local level for the research and promotion of positive action concerning man - woman parity in accordance with E.E.C. Recommendation n. 635 dec. 1984 and the norms of law.

With regard to the intervention of the tradeunion organizations in planning and management of the courses, only some of the national contracts have set up, or foreseen the setting up, of training bodies and istitutes of a bilateral type.

As emerges from a number of company agreements there are joint mechanisms and bodies for the joint elaboration of training programmes and for control of their implementation.

It is worth noting that bilateral bodies of management of training processes, have been operating for a long time now in the printing and the building sectors. The printers national contract, renewd in july 1986 has modified the norm, concerning vocational training and the functions given to the joint body (ENIPG), * following the request by the trades union to set up within its own ambit a "Joint Observatory" to follow the evolution of the sector which over the last few years has witnessed. deep and extensive technological change. The application of the new contract, which has given rise to interpretative controversies

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* Note (ENIPG) National Institute for the Vocational Education in Printing.

between the employer and the tradeunion organization on this point, will most probably influence the activity of the ENIPG, above all on account of the introduction of the new telematic and, in a more general way, electronic technologies.

The new builders' contract has not as yet been stipulated but the requests put forward by the tradeunion organizations with regard to questions of training are particularily important as they forsee:

- the extention of the vocational training programme to white-collar and technical staff, so as to come to terms with the new technological changes occurring and those foreseeable making use of jointly-managed schools for Builders and with refresher and retraining courses paid for by the firms;

- increase if firm funding in those provinces where building school activities are to be set up;

- the management by the schools themselves of training hours for apprentices and the increase in the time dedicated to basic education;

- the improvement of the "right-to-study" principle (the 150 hours) and its utilization for training initiatives, for retraining and professional refresher training rather than for basic education;

- the regulation of the C.F.L. so that training is managed by the building schools themselves, that the CFL are aimed at qualifying in medium-high level skills, and training young people between the ages of 18 to 29, while apprenticeship is targetted towards those between the ages of 15 and 18.

- the use of periods work suspension and/or unemployement for retraining courses;
- the plannigg of work-study initiatives for new graduates (diploma and degree) from schools and faculties with special bearing on the sector and having the intention of working in the building field. This involves scholarships for work-study courses at various levels (local, regional, national) and work experience or training stages;
- the possibility of lumping together non-utilized working time reduction, with paid or unpaid leave, and right-to study leave, in order to take part in training initiatives.

Alongside those sectors where there is a tradition of bilateral management of training activities, one must mentiom those whose relative collective contracts foresee the institution of training organizations at territorial level, such as the artisans and tourism. These sectors have peculiar characteristics from the production structure point of view (a high number of micro-enterprises) and from the point of wiew of the yearly pattern of their activity (seasonal character, job, innovation and restructuring prospects, and implications for training).

TABLE 2

Renewals of a number of national collective contracts

ISSUES	1 ASAP+ Chemicals	2 Chemicals: Private Sector
1. Information, consulting and participation systems connected with employment and training.	Setting up of inter-trade-union committees at national, regional and/ or local level, with the task of acquiring information about industrial strategies, development and technological innovation projects carried our with particular reference to: -the South, -emploment policies -ecology. It shall also have the task of arriving at specific firm action " involving the interests of the tradeunion organizations with regard to the effect of such actions upon the labour force and where necessary identifying the contents, timing and modality of bargained agreements".	The setting up of a "National Observatory" to analyse and evaluate periodically, in joint debates , at sectorial and territorial levels , the following topics: - the labour market, - employment trends, -technological renewal , -organization of work, -employment safety -ecology, -youth and female employment, -labour costs with particular emphasis on health, insurance and social schemes.

+ ASAP: Association of employers belonging to the ENI group.

	3	4
issues	FEDERMECCANICA +	CONFAPI (metal and mechanical firms)
1. see p 41.	The setting up of a data bank to obtain information about: new processes and technologies, to assess new employment trends with special reference to female employment in the South, to evaluate new investment trends in the sector, trends in labour costs compared with other OECD countries, working-hour trends, utilization of legislative incentives for industrial renewal. The data bank shall be set up and run by a specially created jointly financed company run by the federmeccanica and the trade unions. The databank's findings will be discussed by the partners each year in December and this discussion may be followed by a public workshop on the new technologies. The data bank service shall have the task of supplying information at sectorial, territorial level. Information will be provided annually by firms having over 350 employees and by those with over 200 in case of technological, production and organizational changes of a certain consistency.	The setting up of a "System of Observatories (national, regional, provincial) meeting, on average, once yearly during the first four-month period of the year to examine -marketting, -economics, -technology, -employment issues, -reconversion processes, -restructuring, - decentralisation etc.. Information will be provided by the companies with over 350 employees regarding: -production, -employment. -vocational trends, -training programmes, -illness and casualty, - decentralisation, -etc. It shall also be made available by firms with over 240 in cases of considerable renewal of technology in production.

+ Federmeccanica: Association of private employers in the metal and mechanical sector.

Issues	1 ASAP Chemicals	2 Private Chemicals
2. Careers and the position of higher-level white-collar and "cadre" employees.	The career structure foresees eight levels with a pay-scale ration ranging from 100 to 223.5. The middle-managers are classified at 7th and 8th levels and are granted special allowances. The cadres also have a right to specific information about the firm and periodical training courses and to assistance specific to their functions, the possibility to use their know-how outside of the firm, with the due permission of the firm itself, and shall also have the right to be represented on the examination boards.	The career structure forees nine levels with a payscale from 100 to 204,1. The middle managers are placed at the 8th and 9th levels. They also have a right to information about the firm to assistance in accordance with their specific functions and, with the due permission of the firm, to use their know-how outside the firm . Their representatives shall sit on the examination boards. The middle managers shall be entitled to periodical training and special allowances.

	3	4
ISSUES	FEDERMECCANICA	CONFAPI
2 see p. 44	The career structure foresees 7 levels with a payscale from 100 to 200. The middle- managers are placed at the 7th. level and have a right to a special allowance. They also have a right to specific information regarding the firm, to special assistance in keeping with their professional functions, to periodical training, and after having obtained the due permission of the firm , to publish certain findings. The agreement revises the professional profiles and occupational features. A joint commission shall be set up with the task of examining new professional profiles with a view to the new technologies. The commission shall also carry out research and make proposals for the integration of new profiles which shall be accepted unanimously.	The career structures foresee nine levels with a payscale from 100 to 225. The middle managers shall be placed within the eighth and nineth levels and be granted a special allowance. They shall have a right to insurance coverage against risks and death and for third-party risk during the performance of the tasks set down by contract. A special Joint Committee for careers shall be set up "with negotiations powers aimed at realising a new system of classification" drawing up an overall proposal for the sector within the seventh month before expiry of the contract.

	5	6
Issues	Public metal and mechanical sector	Tourist sector (hotels, agencies etc.)
1. see p. 41.	The setting up of a Joint Committee for the co-ordination of information procedures concerning matters of technological innovation, investments, employment, vocational training etc., already foreseen by the contract and by the IRI, EFIM and ENI protocols. The information system foresees annual joint examination at firm level of: the choices, the prospects, research, development, programmes for new industrial set-ups, extention of existing ones. It shall analyse problems of employemnt, including "professional training programmes with particular reference to the number of workers interested, the duration of the courses, the place, the contents, the technical-professional targets to be aimed at, the holding of courses inside the firm or in the external training centres, as well as the intention of availing of funds for the programmes themselves, coming from outside the firm."	Periodical national and regional level meetings between the partners: - to adopt initiatives for the promotion of an active labour policy with specific reference to employment, vocational upgrading, stability and continuity of employment; - definition with the Regions of forms of backing for the training activities. Definition at Regional and Sub-regional level of agreements: - for the planning and running of professional training and retraining courses; - for systems of control over the Region's programmes; -for training programmes to be included in CPL; - for hiring through employer request in cases of particular requirements as an exception to the law; -for the institution of bilateral bodies for vocational training, income support for workers, other social interventions.
2. see p 43	The setting up of a Joint Commission : - to carry out studies of and research into the classification mechanisms in order to match classification and skill. - to examine new professional profiles related to the introduction of the new technologies. To propse additions to the professional profiles in connection with technological innovation. Definition of the "cadres" and a special regulation of:	

	7	8
Issues	Wood and Furniture	Textilos and clothing
1. see above	The joint observatory, already in operation since 1984, ceases to be experimental. The findings will be of a national character and will be gathered in a data bank care of the Federlegno (association of Employers for this sector). The information system has been extended to examination of trends in the employemnt of the young and women. A Joint Commission for vocational training with the task of studying the application of the new technologies and possible new organization of work, has been set up.	Two Observatories have been set up: - one to examine jointly the short-term projects, every six months, in collaboration with the OCT Observatory for the exchange of views; - one for the study of the evolution of technology . Every three years a structural survey of each single productiv subsector will be carried out. - The partners undertake to manage, by means of specific confrontation, restructuring processes with particular attention to staff redundancy.

	5	6
Issue	Public metal and mechanical sector.	Tourism
n 2 see above	The setting up of a Joint Committee: - to carry out studies of and into the classification mechanism in order to match classification and skill. -To examine new professional profiles related to the introduction of the new technologies.To propose additions to the professional profiles in connection with technological innovation. -Definition of the "cadres" and a special regulation for: the right to general information regading the firm training action aimed at maintaining and enriching skill flexible work ing hours compatible with technical and production needs civil and penal responsability patents special task allowances	
Issue n 3 Equal opportunities for men and women.	Joint Commission for study and research aimed at the promotion of positive action for the creation of equal opportunities for male and female workers.	

	7	8
ISSUES	WOOD AND FURNITURE	TEXTILES AND CLOTHING
n. 2 see above	A new qualification level of super-specialization with high professional requirements, has been set up. The "function of the cadres" has been defined on the basis of a national declaration. To facilitate access to work of persons over 29, having no special skill, an eighteen-month entrance salary of ten percent less than the minimum has been foreseen by the contracts. Apprenticeship : This is foreseen for "specialised" and "qualified" workers; -specialised workers for a duration of three years with a wage equal to 60% in the first year, 75% in the second and 85% in the third; - qualified workers for a duration of two years, with wages equal to 70% in the first and to 85% in the second year.	The setting up of a Joint Commission with the task of: -drawing up a classification of the new competences and those to undergo transformati - to make proposals for the changes to carry out within the careers scheme during the next contract. Definition of the "cadres" category, of the relative norms, salaries, particular rights concerning information and training.
n 3 see p 47		The setting up of a work group, within 1987, for the preparation of a positive action project in favour of female workers. The project defined at natio al level will lead to the application at firm level of the EEC and national norms.

ISSUE	National contract for the printing and publishing sector (19th July 1986)
Vocational education and technological innovation.	The undertaking by the parners to promote, increase and strengthen vocational education for the young who intend training for and specializing in the printing sector, and for updating and the further specialization of those already employed. To this end the partners: - shall study and follow the evolution of technology and of production processes, of organization of work and of the market; -shall become active within the public institutions for research into technological innovation, professional training and retraining; - a National Body for Vocational Training (ENIPG), to study, promote and co-ordinate the training initiatives in favour of technological and vocational development in the sector, shall be set up; - for each province or other territorial division a committee shall be set up, the roles and functions of which shall be established by special statutes and regulations; - in the ENIPG and in the territorial Committees the Employers' associations and the trade unions shall be represented jointly. The chairman shall be a representative of the Employers' association and in the case of a tie during voting his vote shall prevail; - within the deliberating bodies the different employers' and workers' organizations shall be represented in proportion to their numerical consistency; The ENIPG andthe local Committees shall be financed by contributions from earnings.

ISSUE National labour contract for white-collar and "cadre" staff employed in the banking and financial sectors (26th Feb 1987

See. p 49.

The companies, with a view to increasing professional ability,hold annual professional training courses and/or refresher courses of a non-selective nature open to voluntary participation of personnel in service.

Said courses last at least 13 hours per annum and are held during working hours. The yearly amount of hours may be wholly or partially summed.

The firms are obliged to inform staff and the tradeunion representatives of the timing , modalities and the contents of the courses.

At the beginning of the year, the firms' management shall examine eventual indications regarding foreseen courses drawn up by the tradeunion representatives, of if there are no representatives in the firm itself, by the tradeunions which stipulated the national contract.

The modality of participation by staff in the courses may be defined by a supplementary contract.

The courses may be of an inter-firm nature for those firms which on account of their size or to other reasons feel this need.

In cases of technological renewal or of relevant restructuring of the firm leading to substantialmodification of work performance, the firm shall organize retraining courses, making use also of the hours foreseen above.

Further courses organized by the company, for professional training, shall be held during working hours and the participation of the staff shall be optional.

The partners have reserved the faculty of examining more closely the possibility of rendering the courses mentioned at point one,selective.

Yearly, the firms, at the request of the tradeunion organizations, shall provide information concerning the professional structuring of staff, divided according to sex,and concerning the development and the rotation of training and retraining courses carried out, and the number of participants.

Within the month of June, the national association must provide overall information on the sector, with reference, among other things, to the general employment situation, the development of technology and phenomena concerning company restructuring and the influence of these upon professional profiles.

ISSUE	Banking and financial sector (contd.)
See p. 49	The partners undertake to examine the problems deriving from structural changes in banking and financial systems, to find out their effects upon working conditions,with particular reference to the need for professional reconversion connected , eventually, with inter-company and territorial mobility.

2.4 Vocational training in the industrial-relations Protocols regarding the public sector.

The stipulation of the Protocol between IRI[**] and the Union Confederation in December 1984, represented a concrete act of departure for the new system of industrial relations within the ambit of public entreprise. This sector has long been characterized by a system of collective bargaining, in large part autonomous, compared with the private companies.

The most outstanding novelty is commonly considered to be the setting up of continuous relations at various levels (central holding, financial branches, regional divisions, companies etc.) based upon Joint Consultant Committees, which are permanent organizations, whose task it is to receive information and discuss some employer decisions before implementation following a pre-established procedure.

If information and consulting systems are not new to bargaining and to company practice, especially in the public companies, the new element is to be found in the setting up of Joint Committees which, by making procedures stable and formal instead of occasional and informal, should favour greater participation.

The 1984 IRI Protocol (modified later by that of the 16th july 1986 , and by those regarding the EFIM companies dated the 29th September 1986 and GEPI companies of the 9th January 1987) was based upon two orders of converging needs:

- on the part of the public companies the need to carry out operations of urgent restructuring and/or reconversion and at the same time consolitade and develop their activities in those key-sectors requiring radical technological innovation, in an atmosphere of systematic quest for consent and in any case of prevention and control of conflict;

[**] note: the major public industrial group in Italy.

- on their part the tradeunion organizations saw the opportunity of backing of support the recuperation and relaunching effort within the public companies, so as to support and develop production and employment and at the same time strengthen their own role, beyond the traditional one of pay regulation. This convenience was particularily welcomed in consideration of the less open attitudes towards participaction emerging in some parts of the private sector (see the Federmeccanica document entitled "Imprese e lavoro" 1984).

These Protocols have their origin in lengthy negotiations which have sometimes found the trade unions themselves divided upon the opportunity of joint management of the innvation and re-organization processes using methods different from the traditinal bargaining ones and more similar to the "technology agreements" in other countries (the U.K. and Norway etc.)

While they are in a way somewhat incomplete, general, vague, the clauses of the IRI and EFIM Protocols concerning vocational training are worth mentioning, for the following points:

- they fall into an industrial relations context where participation is strong and based on consolidated agreements and practices;

- the public enterprise organizations have shown keen interest in the problems of training and vocational orientation, and in general in school to work transition, as shown in the Intersind - CGIL CISL UIL agreement of the 17th June 1986 on the question of vocational orientation;

- the public companies have a network of institutions at their disposal (the IRI's IFAP and ANCIFAP the ENI's IAFE etc.) which do trainin refresher and retraining from manual to management level for many years now;

- the undertaking to " promote jointly training and information seminars at various levels", new in the Italian context, might well represent the beginning of a general process of more intense co-operation due to the requirements of the new technologies and supported by the undertaking by the IRI Committe to avail of the aid of a work group of training experts.

The Protocol of the GEPI, a public finance company set up for the purchase and recouperation of companies in grave crisis so as to safeguard employment especially in the economically less developed areas such as the South, gives more attention to the problem of vocational training; in particular it emphasises the need:

- to promote adequate action aimed at recuperating restructuring handing over companies. This requires promoting new enterprises, and job-creation programmes and planning retraining and vocational promotion initiatives;

- to decentralize action at regional and/or territorial level;

- to look for maximum co-operation from the other public operators (regions, Local Authorities, state offices etc.) as well as private ones (companies and their associations). This co-operation aims at carrying out programmed action with regard to the creation of new enterprise, to school-work experiences, to continuing training, to the promotion of co-operatives, as well as to retraining of redundant workers.

The participation of the stipulating partners in the solution of the vocational training problem, even if implicit in various parts of the Protocol, such as the point concerning tradeunion agreements on single projects and that regarding the promotion of co-operatives, is treated explicitly at point 3 which obliges the "partners" to set up a Joint Committee on training with the tasks of:

1) defining training strategies, and elaborating and promoting projects, establishing relationships with the principal public training structures to be availed of as a priority.

2) co-ordinating the initiatives taken and to be taken within the ambit of GEPI with the help of specific institutions at local, national and international level.

The GEPI Committee for training will keep in mind (at least) three needs:

a) training requirements connected with the local labour market and socio-economic situation;

b) training requirements in keeping with the projects both for restructuring and for reindustrialization;

c) the basic educational requirements for the skilling foreseen in the preceeding points.

With a view to the effective development of training activities, GEPI will put at the disposal of the Committee the necessary structures and means and will eventually set up an agile operative supporting organization.

Agreement protocol for CGIL-CISL-UIL and GEPI.

(9-1 1987)

Premise

The GEPI and the tradeunion organizations refer to the institutional aims that inspired their action, proposing to find for their line of conduct a greater and more functional synergy so as to support and develop the basis of production and in that way defend and develop employment.

To this end, the partners will pay particular attention to:

- initiatives, actions and structures already set in motion or to be set in motion to exploit all the chances of new enterprise at territorial level(Job-creation);
- possible initiatives and active forms of participation of GEPI in school-experiences, in continuing training and such like;
- possible partecipation by GEPI in territorial co-operative initiatives for the creation of equipped areas made available for the setting up of new productive settlements and for the creation and running of technological parks, innovation and research centres and so on;
- establishing the general criteria for the interventions, keeping in mind both employement needs and those of enterprising efficiency.

Taking into account what has been said above and while safeguarding the reciprocal prerogatives and the autonomus responsabilities of each, GEPI and the CGIL-CISL-UIL retain it opportune to define occasions and places for systematic meetings.

Therefore between GEPI and the organizations the following is agreed:

1. RELATIONS BETWEEN GEPI AND THE TRADEUNION ORGANIZATIONS

National level:

in the month of September each year, GEPI and the tradeunion delegations shall meet to examine, on the basis of the documentation drawn up and delivered beforehand to the tradeunion organizations, an account of the previous year's activities, as well as, with a view to their preliminary definition, the programmatic prospecti for GEPI initiatives for the year to come, with reference to the targets and to the resources required, to the problems likely to require perticular attention, to general problems, and to the time forseen for their implementation.

This examinatin shall be carried out in accordance with the aims that the law assigns to GEPI with particular attention to recovery, re-employement/job-creation, restructuring, cession, promotion and assistance.

During the annual meeting the partners shall verify the opportunity of inserting GEPI initiatives within regoinal and/or territorial projects , that are on the look-out for maximum co-ordination with other public and private operators present in the same area, in order to exploit all possible operative synergies.

The GEPI and tradeunion delegations shall meet after a six-month period to carry out assessement and updating both of rehabilitation interventions and of there employement.

Regional Level

On the basis of what has been established in the annual meeting or at request of the partners, GEPI and the tradeunion organizations shall meet (within ten days of the request) at regional and/or territorial level, as set down above, to carry out the specific intervention projects, indicating the public and the private organizations that may contribute to their success, also with a view of obtaining their undertakings with regard to those aspects that concern them.

In particular the following will be taken into consideration :

- the problems of the location of the initiatives , in relation to the choices made by the regional authorities and the areas from wich the labour force comes;
- the initiatives, the actions and the structures already existing or being set up to discover all opportunities for new enterprise at local level (job-creation);
- the initiatives taken and to be taken to catalyse at local level all those forces(industrial associations, co-operative movements , regional finance institutions) likely to promote new industrial or service activities;
- possible initiatives and active involvement of GEPI in school- work experiences , in continuing training and similar activities;
- possible partecipation of GEPI in local initiatives (consortia) for the creation of industrial sites offering suitable services to new productive settlements and the creation and running of technological parks, Innovation and Research Centres

- the general criteria for the interventions, above all from the point of view of employment and from efficiency ;
- staff levels and their eventual evolution, together with the pay and normative conditions governing the hire of labour, the specific problems connected with the labour contract, wages scales, working hours etc...

2. TRAINING PROGRAMMES

The partners take note of the importance of the training problem and of the full convergence on it of reciprocal interests, both from the point of view of those specific to professional training(retraining), and of those connected, more in general,with changes in the socio-cultural context and of the possibility of favouring the development of new enterprise. The partners are therefore committed to setting up a"Jointly_ managed " "Training Committee" having the following tasks:

1) defining the training strategies, drawing up and promoting projects,making use, as a priority for their implementation, of the pricipa public training structures;
2) co-ordinating the initiatives taken and to be taken within the ambit of GEPI with the intervention of the specific local, national and international institutions.

The GEPI Training Committee shall keep in mind at least three requirements:

a) the need for vocational training connected with the local labour market and the territorial socio-economical situation;
b) the need to target training to meet restructuring and industrialization requirements.

c) the basic training and specific training required for qualification according to the previous two points.

To further the concrete development of the training activities GEPI shall make the structures and means necessary for its implementation available to the Committee, and may also set up an agile operative structure.

3. PROMOTION OF CO-OPERATIVES

The partners agree that opportunities of employement may arise through the formation of new co-operatives having the necessary technical support .

The partners agree, as a result, to define and develop within the framework set down by the law concerning co-operatives and youth'employement, an active policy for the creation of new jobs, not overlooking to this regard , the importance of the training problem.

According to their specific institutional roles,

in particular:

- the tradeunion organizations shall promote and further the growth of co-operative "culture";
- GEPI, also by setting up specific internal technical-organization structures shall offer, to the co-operatives, set up by workers from the GEPI group companies or those for which the law requires GEPI to promote re-employement activities and which shall request it , assistance in elaborating their production projects.

Within this ambit it shall evaluate the projects proposed, and among other things discover the financial resources required to implement them, with particalar reference to those funds made available by law 49/1985 (the Marcora law) and 44/1986 (the De Vito law) ; once the projects have been assessed ,GEPI shall - as far as the law allows- make the necessary funds available in the manner held most opportune in each specific case.

2.5 Vocational training and agreements

Bargaining in recent years has been characterised by an increased presence of the vocational-training problem in negotiations concerning restructuring and reconversion programmes, and the introduction of the new technologies into production processes. This was also connected with the development of the information and consulting systems foreseen by the national labour contracts.

The analyses regarding plant-level bargaining (1) and vocational training within it (2), mark a prevalence within the small and medium companies of the quantitative (salary, working hours, job security) over the qualitative aspects (the introduction of new technologies, job organization and vocational training).

In fact one notes a gap between the bargaining questions in large production units, where the restructuring and innovation processes have been more marked, and those in smaller.

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1) M. Laveto : Contrattazione aziendale in "Le relazioni sindacali in Italia" 1985-86 Report, edited by CESOS, pages 148-157.

2) La formazione professionale nella contrattazione collettiva„ in Osservatorio CESOS - Contrattazione, n. 4,1985.

firms where the trade union's presence and intervention in company decisions is generally far less.

The agreements summed up in Table 4,even if they do not cover the whole of the vast and heterogeneous universe of plant-level bargaining, are nonetheless symptomatic of significant trends within the large public and private concerns, due also to strength and influence of these firms within the industrial relations system.

It is important to point out that these are not isolated agreements but agreements drawn up at different times by the same companies and therefore part of a process of negotiations and relations with the trade unions which has developed over the past five years and which is likely to continue.

The FIAT-Auto agreement of March 1986 is only the latest drawn up after a series begun in September 1980, where for the first time the problems of restructuring, reorganization and recovery of productivity within the company were faced, and in which the problem of staff reduction and recourse to the C.I.G. received far greater attention than aspects connected with new skills and work organization. The agreement foresaw, moreover, the carrying out, during the intervals between agreements, of assessment evaluation by the partners. The aim was to control both economic trends in the sector, and the employment prospects, the technological developments and the production processes in the various plants.

The agreement of the 19th March 1986 concentrates on the plan for the restructuring and the technological innovation of the Company for the 1986-89 period.

In particular it regulates the following employment and training aspects:

- the recalling of workers laid off under CIG and who have not found other employment;

- the undertaking by the partners to implement a plan for recalling all the workers laid off by the various company plants, making use of public intervention, of job-creation and mobility initiatives and incentivating the setting up of co-operatives;

- the holding of vocational training courses, aimed at re-employment with pre-established duration and timetables, with obligatory attendance, in collaboration with the competent public organizations;

- for those workers not suited to the courses, the setting up of further initiatives aimed at re-instatement in production.

The agreement foresees assessment and evaluation by the partners, in subsequent periods, of labour market trends and production prospects, of the impact of the restructuring plan and of the progress of the training courses.

The industrial agreements stipulated with the ITALTEL, a company belonging to STET, a public group operating in the telecommunications field, as and from June 1981 faced the problems caused by the rise of industrial electronics:

- the emergence of new skills,
- the obsolescence and redimensioning of others,
- the change in ratio between production labour and other functions

such as project-design and marketing,

- the consistent reduction of industrial staff, especially female, often in firms situated in the Southern areas of Italy where the employment situation is particularily critical.

The 1981 agreement faced the situation by reducing the working week to thirty-eight and a half hours, by beginning processes of mobility within the company itself and towards other companies within the STET group. In particular it foresaw the creation of a Mixed Technical Committee for Vocational Training which was to set up requalification intervention. Although a reduction of employment could not be avoided, the intervention aimed at retraining 29,000 electrical-mechanical workers in electronic skills.

For these reasons the vocational training question is placed at the heart of various agreements. With the reutilization of company staff in new technological and organizations systems in mind, technical retraining foresaw:

- the spread, at all levels, of cultural and general knowledge concerning technology and work organization, so as to introduce elements of flexibility and quality into production;

- the need to develop, alongside extraordinary reconversion measures, a permanent training system with constant intervention in the field of human and professional resources needed to create and spread a culture and a capacity for intervention, not only at management level , but at all working levels (3).

The low educational level among blue-collar workers, and their advanced age (over 40% of them over the age of forty) had created considerable problems. These were tackled first by setting up a basic compulsory course lasting 40 hours, for all the staff, blue and white-collar alike.The aim was to retrain those workers with remote, incomplete education, with no specific vocational training, with a view to integrating them into the new technology and learning context.

The training needs measured in terms of hours, set down as 400,000 in 1981, increased to 700,000 in 1982 and to about one million in 1983-84. This initiative of vast proportions involved not only the social partners, but also the school institutions, the regional and local authorities and the employers, resulting in a systematic training experience and [illegible] an organized participation both by private and public [illegible]jects.

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(3) Various Authors: Le 150 Ore e la formazione professionale in azienda. Il case ITALTEL.
Ed. by F. Angeli,1985, from p. 56 forward.

The agreements concerning the "Nuova Italsider" and the "Lanerossi" companies both regard mature industrial sectors going through a phase of contraction and also of plant renewal requiring considerable requalification of personnel.

The "Nuova Italsider" agreement had to face two basic training problems:

- those connected with restructuring processes and the need to render staff mobile;
- those deriving from the level of sophistication of the new plants and the informatics system. These required considerable up-grading of skills , made even more difficult by the high average age of staff. Preliminary selection , orientation and sometimes even personalised planning became necessary in order to carry out the projects.

The staff training agreement which regarded about 2,500 blue and white-collar workers, set down not only the qualitative and quantative aspects of the processes, but also the training contents of the various phases, the modalities of organization and the structures needed, and also singled out the professional figures required within the single company areas and the relative practical and theoretical training paths to be followed.

The "Lanerossi" training project, agreed upon by the trade unions and the company management is noteworthy for:

- its gearing towards female staff in particular;
- its adoption of other mechanisms aimed at lightening the staff load;
- the setting up of a Joint Committee with the task of guiding and verifying the activity of the training agency set up by the

social partners on a joint agreement basis;

- the involvement of the executive staff of a number of factories in different phases of the company's training "stages", with tasks ranging from projection to actual tutoring;
- the specific problems regarding female staff:women called upon to act at certain levels of responsability (production assistance) were expected to face particular difficulties regarding social and hierarchical relationships within the firm and modify the balance of interests between their domestic and their professional realities.

Table 4 **FIRM RESTRUCTURING AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING**

1	2
The FIAT-AUTO agreement of the 19th. March 1986	The ITALTEL agreements of the 15th. April 1981, 5th. March 1985, 11th. July 1985
Information concerning the market and production situation of FIAT-AUTO Illustration of the concern's restructuring plans for the 1986-1989 period, based upon a close integration between product renewal and productive technologies and the balanced utilization of resourses. Return of suspended workers on CIG according to timing modalities foreseen by the agreement. The general trend of the plan and of return of suspended staff will be the object of verification during specific talks. The creation of a plan for re-utilization of workers laid off, including public intervention for job-creation, the promotion of co-operatives, inter-firm and inter-group mobility. Re-employment shall be preceded by training courses lasting three months (four hours per day) to be set up after approval by the appropriate organizations ; participation at the course shall be obligatory for the workers concerned. The re-employment of workers who have attended the courses shall take place at the rate of 1/12 per month of the total number as and from Dec. 1986, the date on which the first course ends	-The undertaking by the company to inform the company's trade union representatives on vocational training taking place and the programmes already under way(contents, selection,modalitie staff involved,duration, place, teachin public funding etc.) - Within the framework of the firm's strategic plan, the elaboration of a medium-to-long one for vocational training to meet the needs of technological innovation, which plan shall be examined jointly with the trade-union organizations. -Encounters at company level to define -during meetings of the Technical Commission- a procedure for regulating relations between the partners with regard to implementation modalities (criteria of reference with regard to training needs, teaching contents etc.) of the training programmes, using pre-established reference-points. -Definition,on the basis of programmes examined, of the total number of hours to be set aside for vocational training. -The willingness of the company to develop with the Regions systematic consultative relations involving the social partners for the verification of regional programmes. -The company shall give priority to vocational training initiatives which are directly connected with technological innovation and with the re-organization of labour, as well as the bettering of skill-levels, with a general view to improving production - To improve the training intervention both qualitatively and quantitativly; greater use, not only of the firm's resourses, but also of the most qualified public structures (Regios, I.R.I.);

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For those workers deemed unsuitable the company will consider the opportunity of finding other initiatives having the aim of reemploying workers, which initiatives aimed at re-employment, shall be illustrated during the verification phases foreseen.

In this context the partners have decided upon re-employment plan which shall be defined before the 31st. Dec. 1986 and foresees the re-utilization of 2,000 workers by means of a number of different mechanisms (return to work, early pensioning, inter-firm mobility, job-creation etc.).

In the month of December 1986 and in September 1987 encounters between the partners to verify:

- training courses;
- the re-utilization and re-employment of staff;
- recourse to CIG.

2

- the courses will be held during working hours.

The agreement of the 5th. March 1983

- Considering the positive outcome of the experimental basic course in Milan, this is extended to all the other factories according to modalities set down by the National Technical Commission.
- The establishment of the number of hours to be dedicated, during 1983, to the carrying out of the basic course which shall be divided, more or less, into modules of about 40 hours for groups of 20 persons. For the years 1984 and 1985 the Technical Commission will define a proposal for a basic course plan which shall take into account the firm's strategic targets and the resourses available, as well as investments already made during 1983.
- The National Technical Commission shall face the following questions:

+ analysis of the principal training iters to be taken on the basis of an examination of the mid-term skills in order to draw up the proposals for a training programme in keeping with the firm's strategic targets and with the recovery of internal potential;

+ examination of the lines of development of the organization of work in areas subject to technological modification and restructuring of a certain consistency in connection with specific training requirements;

+ Experimentation of an informative course with a view to spreading a n "informatics culture", both with regard to mechanical and and electro-technical tasks.

1	2
	The agreement of the 12th. July 1985
	- Reconfirmation of the strategic importance, at all levels, of training in connection with technical and production requirements, as well as the realization of the professional capacities of those trained with particular attention towards the achievement of equal opportunities for female staff.
	-Reconfirmation of the fundamental, specialist and proposing role of the mixed Technical Commission with regard to all the training programmes of the firm and the operative modalities for carrying them out.
	- Training intervention for 1985 equal to 900,000 hours of activity and comparative levels for those of 1986 and 1987, amounting to approximately one week per worker.
	-Specific programmes connected with the mobility resulting from the application of the "solidarity contracts", after a preliminary examination of the Technical Commission and by the firm's representatives at local level.
	-Continuation and extention of the experience of a different utilization of the "150 hours" for courses obtained in collaboration with the Provveditorati degli Studi and aimed at the recouperation of basic schooling and basic vocational training.
	- For positive action the firm undertakes to give its attention to the inclusion of female staff in training courses so as to promote their access to areas of skill where women are under-represented, on the basis of an organic project for positive action to be presented within the end of 1986.

1	2
	-The placement of workers who have already attended training courses shall be the object of special verification at local level.

3	4
The new Italsider agreement of 5th. Nov. 1982	Project for normative intervention in the "Lanerossi" company (ENI agreement ,July 1984)
-Within the ambit of a restructuring programme, the definition of a training plan with reference to: A) qualitative aspects -restructuring requires noteworthy mobility processes of a totally unusual kind which need a great effort as far as training and reconversion of staff are concerned: - the elevated technological level of the new plants and the degree of sophistication of the informative system requires considerable upgrading in quality and a new basic training model, as well as an increase in educational levels. Difficulties have been encountered on account of the high average age of the staff (about 44 years), not only with regard to training but also with regard to professional motivation and reconversion. Preliminary selection and orientation and the need for even individual training appear necessary; - plant and organizational restructuring requires training intervention for all the staff, even for those not working at the new plants themselves.	The agreement between Lanerossi of Schio and the tradeunion organizations foresees objectives and modalities for carrying out a rehabilitation plan for the firm which will have important repercussions upon the firm's staffing policy, among other things: - the undertaking to carry out vocational retraining action; - the adoption of contracting and legislative mechanisms that appear suitable: for example solidarity contracts,part-time etc.; - the quest for specific solutions to the problem of vocational reconversion of the female staff under CIG,taking advantage of the opportunities established under the European Social Fund ; The partners, following the agreement, set up a Joint Committee, composed of the tradeunion organizations and the firm's,with the task of drawing up policy guidelines, for example: - definition of the objectives; - verification of their achievement - their modification during the meetings foreseen (if one or other of the partners or AGPOL should request it). A agency, AGPOL, had been set up with the task of developing training through: - the analysis of the organization of the firm in its various plants; -analysis of the reference occupational figures

B) The quantitative aspects

-the training plan shall concern 2,500 persons both technical and blue-collar staff including staff destined for the new plants and services and professional updating connected with organizational restructuring;

C) Training contents

- for the personnel destined to the new plants and services the programmes foresees:

+ an initial basic training in the metal industry and in steel and iron processing, in computer systems, equipment and automation and the technologies of the plants, of working modalities, of production and work organization;

+ a second phase of specific skill training, on the one hand to give know-how as needed for the single operative areas within the plant and, on the other, to allow for direct experience on similar plants in Italy and abroad, with the aid of skilled operators and practical experience under the guidance of the same;

+ for the updating connected with organizational restructuring the courses shall regard, among others, contents and targets concerning technological innovations:

- the acquisition of new professional contents, operational practice and qualitative prescriptions and security practices.

Modules with a variable duration of 2 to 3 weeks. Practical coaching on the job in other productive units, lasting, on average about one month.

D) notes on organization

- For the implementation of the training programmes, it is agreed that the internal structures and the local ANCIFAP and the training centres of plant and

- the study, planning and implementatio of the courses;

- the co-ordination of the didactic activities in the classroom and in the firm itself (stages);

-verification of the learning level and the level of integration of the learners among themselves and with the persons present in the factories (the stage leaders and the tutors).

This way there has been an effort to avoid transferring within the teaching process problems that are the concern more of the industrial-relations system than of training.

The various phases of the AGFOL's work were examined and approved by the Joint Committee.
The first part of the programme, begun in autumn 1985 and concluded in Dec.'85, witnessed a constant presence of the trainees in the class-room, for 14 weeks, equal to 350 hours on the whole, with the contribution of teachers made available by the firm and by the agency, and permitted focussing, among other things on the principal problems of the female condition.

The second phase was set in motion on the basis of the new decisions taken by the Joint Committee concerning
-the involvement of other factories within the Lanerossi group as the place to be used for the stages period of the course ;
-the request for greater attention to specifically female questions.

This second phase of the course began in February 1986 and ended in December.

During this period the learners operated in the factories under the same conditions as the others workers present; and periodical testing of the perogress in learning and integration was carried out.

These progress assessement took two forms:
one left to the tutors abd to those responsible for the courses on the basis of tests set up by the Agency;
- the second carried out by the trainees themselves using similar mechanisms.

3	4
component construction companies, as well as practical training in other firms. - For the instructors recourse will be had to firm technicians, to ANCIFAP experts, and to technicians belonging to plant construction firms. As an annex to the agreement there is a description of the matters involved in the different areas with the indication of the number of the persons interested, the aims, the organization of the various phases and the structure of the theoretical and practical training, of the curricula, of the training staff and the duration of the courses.	The findings are integrated with observations in the field by thefirm's consultants who coordinate the entire process. A number of executives of the different factories have been involved both in the projecting stage and in the design of the training process, and as monitors of the stages,obtaining results held to be significant. From the experience a number of considerations emerged concerning initiatives aimed at overcoming discrimination against women with regard tc access to employment, such as: - the high level of motivation required of women in cases where the working role requires a consistent assumption of responsability (in this specific case, the role of production assistant which requires the ability to intervene in the ambit of plants and human resourses); - the consequent shift of interest from the family to the working area; - the readapting of the role of women especially in cultural and social contexts of a traditional type, with willingness to accept working hours of a more committing nature, with the consequence of having to reorganise family life; - the relationship with technology seen as knowhow and mastery of machinery,as a legitimizing element for production assistants; - the impact on firm culture: i.e. on traditional organization and hierarchical structures.

2.6 School and vocational orientation and school -to-work transition at local level.

One of the greatest novelties in collective bargaining at inter-confederal level is the agreement signed in June 1986 between the Intersind, an association of public-sector companies and the CGIL-CISL-UIL Tradeunion Confederation, in which the partners undertook:

- to set up a series of orientation experiences (pilot projects) aime at facilitating the entry of young people into the working world, both young people attending school and those who left it;
- to create, with a view to this aim, a Joint Committee to handle the running of the pilot orientation projects, availing also of the specific collaboration of experts;
- to sustain the activity of the Joint Committee by involving the national and local structures of both categories and by setting up appropriate institutional centres, both at national and community levels;
- to carry out joint assessment and evaluation, at least once a year, of the progress made by the projects managed by the joint Committee, and publish reports on the findings.

The undertaking of the partners are preceded by a long premise where:

- the role of industrial relations in the solution of guidance and school-to-work transition is claimed, although the primary responsability of the public institutions is made clear;

- an overall reform of the orientation system is called for in the public interest in accordance also with the undertakings assumed by Italy towards the international organizations and in order to bridge the " traditional and negative separation between academic and vocational education";

- joint action on matters of academic and professional orientation is believed to represent an essential aspect of improvement both of the industrial-relations system on the whole and of the educational system of the country, marked by a high drop-out level both at compulsory and senior-secondary school levels;

- it is foreseen that the programming and carrying out of joint action will become an efficacious means of promotion of vaster significant experiences of co-operation between the fields of training and labour in the various realities where they can be achieved (enterprise "stages" for students, the use of experts for teaching purposes, guided tours and the study of company cases, refresher initiatives for teachers and managers etc.).

The agreement, which does notexclude the possibility of autonomous inititiatives on the part of either of the partners, has been favoured by the undertakings, made by Intersind and by important public concerns in matters of vocational orientation and school-to-work transition at local level, in collaboration with senior secondary school institutes and important Universities (1), which have taken various forms, such as lessons on the organization of labour, conferences held by managers and company technicians in the public schools, visits to places of work, intervention by firms in laboratory activity in those schools carrying out work on behalf of third parties, company "stages", etc..

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(1) See: Preparare il futuro - l'azione dell'Intersind per una maggiore integrazione tra impresa e sistema formativo, in the "Industria e Sindacato" supplement, 14 11/4/1986.

There have been a number of attempts at setting up a relationship with or courses for school teachers, and at promoting forms of circular communication between companies, teachers, school publishers, in order to arrive at a cooperative elaboration of study plans.

Among the various initiatives we recall: a) the school-Work Project now in progress with the collaboration of Intersind and the Provincial Administration of Rome; b) the convention stipulated between Naples Provveditorato agli studi (Public Education Office) and Intersind and c) many local Intersind delegations and single public-sector companies (such as Selenia) involved in collaboration with the school institutions; d) the universities agreements such as the Protocol between the State University of Rome ("La Sapienza") and the Intersind's Rome delegation for collaboration in the fields of scientific information, of didactics and research, (1985); e) and the Industry-University project between the Friuli-Venezia Giulia branch of the Intersind and the University of Trieste.

A network of similar initiatives, but on a much vaster scale, has been developed by the Confindustria by its territorial associations and by its young industrialists committees and its other organizations.

Within the framework of the experimental and innovatory initiatives that involve the employers organizations we must mention the school-to-work transition pilot projects promoted by the EEC and carried out by the Ministry for Education in eight important areas, involving 227 secondary schools, 2,440 teachers and 21,970 pupils (2).

The growing attention given by the Confindustria to the link between the enterprising world and training processes is shown by the number of its territorial organizations (about 80 in 1985 on a total of 100) involved in various initiatives from academic and vocational orientation to refresher courses for teachers, from the managerial training of head-masters to systems of school - work rotation and the promotion of industrial culture. This emerged also from its undertakings not only in the quest for and elaboration of new policy lines (3) but also it's internal reorganization aimed at re-evaluating the function of private enterprise in training at all levels, including university and post-graduate.

According to Paracone, who is responsible for the research programmes of a well-known Foundation,professional training presents the following distinct problems:

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2) See: Report n. 19, 1985 on the social situation in the country carried out by the CENSIS, pages 144-145.

3) Among the more recent initiatives we point out the contribution of the Convention on "Innovazione, Formazione e Sviluppo" (Mantua 10-11 October 1986) and those proposed for the seminar on "Formazione professionale: esperienze e proposte a confronto" (Lerici 27-28 1987).

- the need to render more effective the training system for the mature and traditional sectors of the Italian economy: industry, artisans, agriculture, traditional services (including commerce, tourism and health);
- the need to answer, with forms of both self-employement and salaried employement, the request expressed so far only in partial and implicit terms, for new skills of a technological and medium-to-high professional level made by industry and by the services;
- the way to support self-employment and develop new enterprises;
- up dating and retraining, both of adults and of the young, so as to make the school and working experiences compatible with needs of the labour market (4).

One of the crucial points to be solved in order to face these different types of problems connected with the training system, is that of the training and up-dating of teachers, which should be carried out by the training institutions and the

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4) C. Paracone : Una formazione per gli anni 90, a report made to the Agnelli Foundation on the theme "Per un sistema formativo italiano di alta qualita'" (Turin 11th April 1986), published in synthesis in "Industria e Sindacato" n. 2 dating the 9th Jan. 1987.

enterprises to guarantee an adequate level of know-how, to set up centres of "excellence" able to act as "interfaces" between the training system and the world of production. In this direction two types of important experiences are already under way:

- the large companies are transforming their training centres into service centres for the research, the planning and the running of training activities at medium to high level for high-school and university graduates, such as the case of ANCIFAP-IRI , of ISVOR-FIAT and ELEA-OLIVETTI;
- local firm organizations are creating, with the aid of the regional and local authorities, consortial centres or highly specialized service centres, managerial schools for post-graduates, technology-diffusion institutions like the Tecnopolis-CSATA in Puglia.

The interest of the companies and their associations shown in these experiences does not seem to meet with adequate participation by the trade unions, more preoccupied with basic training processes with a wiew to youth employment and retraining of the unemployed, fields in which they operate, running their own courses in their own institutions both at national and regional level (5).

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5) See: Come funziona e che cosa offre un sistema formativo regionale: synthesis of a research project carried out by N. Schiavone and C. Paracone on behalf of the Agnelli Foundation in Piedmont.

However the interest shown by the companies and the prospect of their taking a central role in the reform of the training system as a whole, point towards the probability of a different kind of involvement by the tradeunion organization even if it aroused different reactions and a number of preoccupations. It seems as if the privileged form of union involvement is within tri-partite relationships (trade unions-institutions-enterprise) rather than in direct trade unions-enterprise relations, as shown by the recent agreements at regional level especially in the territorial contexts where small-scale to medium sized enterprise prevails (6)

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6) See: Among others G. Alessandrini: Report to the Executive Committee of the CISL dated the 5th February 1987 as well as the other documents of the Confindustria's Mantua convention and in particular O. Del Turco's report.

Chapter 3 : Sectorial and regional cases

3.1 Participation in vocational training in the building Industry in a weak area : the example of the "co-managed"builers'school of Pomezia.

(Cassa-del-Mezzogiorno area)

3.1 Premise

The relevant characteristics that interest us in the buildings field are: the high level of absorption of labour with traditional skills or no skill, the fairly stable demand for residential construction in the national economy, the incidence of public expenditure for investment in public works, in popular housing and in infrastructures, the relatively low labour productivity level, the low level of capital intensity and of technological barriers to entry, the presence of micro-enterprises, etc.

In recent times the difficulties in the sector have had a depressing effect on the labour market. From 1981 to 1985 building has lost over 170,000 workers. Yet the area still has considerable weight in employment, absorbing 9.5% of the total working population.

Salaried employment in this sector is in constant diminution (in 1984 there was a veritable collapse) while self-employment has maintained the levels previously reached. This structural change is also confirmed by census data according to which self-employment in the sector grew from 12% in 1971 to 22% in 1981. The explanation of this tendency is to be found in the organization model of the enterprises which tend to operate on reduced staff basis subcontracting various phases of the work to temporary working crews. These are often formed by ex-employees who find it convenient to negotiate a continuous form contract of relationship with the one-time employer thus acquiring the advantages (for example, fiscal) of the "submerged economy". These cases of precarious employment are therefore in part tolerated by and in part chosen by the workers themselves, inclined towards autonomy and exploitation of all working opportunities made available. Approximately two-thirds of those employed have a continuous annual work flow. For the others work is often distributed over two or three three-month periods, even if non-registration with the Cassa Edile (the sector's social-security institution) for a certain period does not coincide with periods of unemployment but rather with other forms of employment, even outside of the sector more or less submerged.

The market presents, however, a number of labour-market bottle-necks. Notewithstanding the high number of workers, for the most part unskilled, on the waiting list, there is a dearth of a number of skilled workers (brick-layers, carpenters, crane-drivers, etc.). And it does not seem that this imbalance will be set right because the building sector does not attract a sufficient number of young school-leavers.

The area of Pomezia in southern Latium is included in those weak areas of the country where the so-called "Mezzogiorno" legislation is applied.

Latium, after Lombardy, Sicily and Campania is the Italian region with the highest number of workers employed in building: 162,000 in 1985, equal to 8.7% of the region's total employed population. Self employment is lower here than in the rest of the country, 17.3% against 24.8%. But the picture that emerges from official figures is largely held to be unrealiable: according to the CRESME enquiry (1986) "the labour market in the building trade in the Rome area seems to present two distinct faces: an official and a submerged one, roughly of the same consistency."

Over the past three years the enterprises registered with the Cassa Edile diminished by 5%. At the same time the number of registered workers dropped also by over 8,000. However this decrease might well corrispond with an equivalent increase in submerged activity and employment.

In this context of low entrance barriers, of high status given to specialized work and to traditional skills of a crafts type, of a broad potential labour market in a weak area where there is a high offer of unskilled labour but a lack of specialized skill, there emerges a particular kind of vocational training system where most of the interventions, especially those aimed at entry into employment are run jointly by employers' and employees' organizations.

The reasons that have led, historically, to the development of this type of training system regard the need to regulate entry into the building trade by defining the criteria of selection-competition and so avoid that the pressure of competition react negatively upon wage levels leading to the risk of a reduction of standards and of employment prestige in the highly skilled crafts.

Governed by the national collective labour contract stipulated in December 1952, the Building-Trade School Institutes run professional training courses for the young (generally for those holding a junior secondary-school certificate) and for adults already working in the sector. The advantages recognized to the training given by these building schools are above all:

- a close tie between the training given and the real work situation;

- easier access to employment for trainers with a basic education, favoured by a more specific intermediation between supply and demand of labour;
- the greater motivation of the pupil who "sees" the concrete possibility of one or more outlets;
- the essential and coherent nature of the training cycles;
- the generally elevated quality of the training centres;
- the benefits those trained in the schools have a right to.

These School Institutes are present in almost all the Italian provinces: in 1984 4.500 students attended the courses.

It is generally held that the most valid schools for training in the building skills are: EFMEC, Milan, CIPET, Turin and CEFME in Pomezia.

This type of jointly managed school which finds an important analogy in the schools for printing skills, has been the object of attention during the debate concerning the reform of the training system. On the one hand the possibility of extending the formula to other sectors, that is to the regional vocational schools, came forward; on the other, problems and some new difficulties that reduce the efficacy of this type of institutional solution, were brought forward. In particular the "horizontal" and perassive character of the new technologies seems to reduce the opportunity of defining professions and job mobility sectorially. On the other hand the level of submerged activity, with all its implications of implicit training, skilling and deregulation seems to grow in proportion to the improvement of wages and working conditions.

3.1.2 The Building School at Pomezia (Southern Latium)

The CEFME (Centro per la formazione delle Maestranze Edili)* of Rome and the province of Rome was set up in 1953. It is run jointly by the ACER (Associazione Costruttori Edili di Rome e provincia)** and by the three central tradeunion organizations for the sector: FILLEA,FILCA,FENEAL. The training school and the building-yard are situated at Pomezia, in the province of Rome and have operating since 1980.

CEFME gives ample room to initial training and, within its structure, to training contents which privilege multifunctionality (polivalence). However, besides training young people who have finished compulsory school, the building school organizes annual courses aimed at teaching specific skills.

The 1986/87 courses held by CEFME regarded four fundamental fields:

1) - builders - layers - plasterers (biennal course)
2) - carpenters - fitters - scaffolders (biennal course)
3) - drivers of earth-removal machinery (one-year course)
4) - building-yard operators of cranes and electrical-mechanical craftsmen (one-year course).

The two-year courses are open to young people who have finished their compulsory education and are between the ages of 14 and 25.

The two-year course is articulated as follows:

- basic course lasting five months as orientation for choice of the specific skill. The object is to recover basic scholastic notions (arithmetic, mathematics,geometry) and to begin acquiring basic information and training necessary to the builder's and carpenter's skills. At the end of the basic course, during which there are also lessons of civics and concerning labour legislation, there is an aptitude test to sound trainees' suitability for the building trade in general and help them choose one of the qualification courses.

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* Centre for Building Skills   ** Builders' Association

- Qualification course :this lasts ten months. The teaching during this theoretical-practical phase concerns: practical exercise (twenty hours per week), technology and drawing (two hours), scientific culture (two hours),civics and labour legislation (two hours).

-Final Stage : this lasts eight months and gives practical training in the centre's 'simulation' yard (work on the extension of the centre itself) or in external yards. In this latter case the CEFME makes use of conventions with the Administrations of the surrounding municipalities to carry out works of public utility. This practical work involves the trainees for thirty-two hours a week, while four hours per week are devoted to theory.

The final examinations are held before a mixed Commission of members of the employers' territorial organizations and of the trade union, of the Ministry for Labour, of the Ministry for Education, of the Latium Regional Authority, as well as a member .. the school itself. The trainees who receive their certificate are guaranteed employment.

The one-year courses are reserved for over-seventeen-year-olds who have a sufficient basic technical-scientific education. The training course foresees a sole phase including theoretical instruction,machinery handling,laboratory and work-shop training.

The biennial and one-year courses had, in 1986/87, an attendance of 200 trainees.

On 1987 the school set up a further five courses,under the following headings:

- Salvage of buildings : this course regards skilled workers already engaged in the building trade, and over the age of 25. The course , which lasted five months (450 hours of theoretical-practical training), was attended by twenty-five persons. The exit level is that of skilled labourer and the trainee qualifying from this course may find employment in the recouperation of historical towns and existing building patrimonies;

- Skilled multi-function scaffolders : this course is open to skilled workers (scaffolding carpenters) already employed and over the age of 25. It involves 25 persons for six months (600 hours of theoretical- practical training). The exit level is that of skilled labourer;

- Decorator-plasterer : ordinary employed unskilled workers may attend this course if they are over 25. It lasts five months (450 hours). The exit level of the twenty-five trainees is that of multi-function skilled worker, that is of ordinary plasterer of walls and ceilings, painter and scaffolder;

- Pile-driver and driller : this course is open to unskilled workers who have been unemployed for at least twelve months and caters for up to 25 enrollments for six months (600 hours). The exit level is that of specialized worker skilled in the use of mechanical pile-drivers and drills, with a knowledge of terrains, basic mechanics and saulderinq;

- Archaeological Restoration : this is a "positive action" course. It is open to unemployed females of any age.It offers 30 places and lasts five months (450 hours of theoretical-practical training). The exit level is that of skilled building craftswoman specialized in the maintainence and recovery of archaeological and monumental property.

These courses for adults are held in the evening. As we can see, the traditional crafts prevail, although renewed in keeping with the logic of the valorization of the artistic-cultural patrimony of the country. The CEFME intends holding courses too for intermediate figures (building-yard assistants) and technical workers (designers). The average age of those attending the basic course is just above 16, while that of those attending the specialization courses is around 22 with a greater age dispersion among those attending. The majority of those attending qualification courses has a junior secondary school certificate.

About one third of those attending the specialization courses has a senior secondary-school diploma.

The previous school curricula of the young people attending the qualification and specialization courses are marked by a significant percentage of school failure which is the principal or partial cause of their dropping out.

3.1.3 Orientation, selection and access to work.

The CEFME devotes much attention to the publication of its training activities. It has frequent encounters with the district school authorities and the junior secondary schools. There is also close collaboration with the Provveditorato agli Studi for the planning and creation of "guides" to orientate pupils leaving the junior secondary schools, as well as with the Labour Exchange Offices. The Building School also takes part frequently at exhibitions (The Fair of Rome, Tever expo etc.).

The young people who apply to attend the CEFME's courses are more numerous that the places available: an average of 400 applications for 200 places.

The selection takes the form of an interview-test in which the candidate's suitability for the building trade is assessed.

An important characteristic of the Pomezia School is that an agreement between the social partners guarantees employment for those completing the courses. In actual fact about 70% of the trainers finds work opportunities before even finishing the training course.

According to the CEFME authorities the pupils taken on by the companies avoid the usual period of unskilled work typical of apprenticeship (the most direct way to work), on account of their good training level which - according to CEFME - is half way between qualification and specialization.

When taking on new staff, companies are always inclined to avail of the CFL system which allows, besides hiring by employer selection, a noteworthy saving of labour costs during the first two years (6 to 8 million liras per annum per young person hired). The usual procedure is the following: the young person qualifies as a builder or carpenter (two years), is employed by the firm on the basis of CFL formula (the CEFME itself undertakes to handle the training programme) for a two-year period and at the end - if all goes well - he is employed on a permanent basis.

And yet it must be pointed out that the school gives, at the end of the course, only a certificate of qualification, while the attribution of the qualification itself and relative registration in the worker's work permit is left to the employer who then proceeds with employment formalities (within thirty days).

The qualification, by the agreement of the partners, may be granted by the school only in the case of those courses foreseeing rotation between training and work in external yards.

3.1.4 The organizations model of the CEFME

The CEFME is run by the Administrative Council composed of six building constructors and six tradeunion executives belonging to the sector. The Chairman is, by Statute, an ACER member, the Vice-Chairmanship given to the trade unions. The General Director is nominated by the trade union.

The running of the training activity of the building School is handled by three management Offices: technical-administrative, didactic and residential.

The staff of the Pomezia school is composed of 55 persons, all on a permanent employment contract. The teachers, including those teaching theoretical subjects (engineers and architects) and those teaching practical skills (usually specialized workers, and some cases draftsmen) are twenty-six in all (out of 55).

The trainers' working obligation is 22 hours per week teaching as well as 12 hours of planning activity and external conferences. Every year the teachers are sent on an 8/12 - week refresher course.

The complexe which houses the school at Pomezia covers a surface area of 50,000 square metres of which 12,000 coverd. The school has 18 class-rooms, three laboratories, a 500 - place

Conference Hall, a library, a screening room, a gymasium, sports facilities, lodging covering 3,800 square metres (88 rooms), a 500 - place canteen, a kitchen able to cook 2,000 meals at a time and other essential services.

3.1.5 Training - activity planning

A thorough knowledge of the labour market, the evolution of professional profiles and company organization models are considered by the school the basis of training activity and training

Another important element is the joint planning with the building companies or with their associations of the types of courses, of the didactic syllabi, of experimentation, of the improvement of the assessment and intervention methodologies. It is this way of proceeding that in a big way guarantees reaching the fundamental aim of training: that is the employment of the pupils at the end of the courses. It should be mentioned that the hypothesis of a platform for the building workers at present being discussed requires the setting up of an Observatory for the sector with a view to guiding the action of the schools and of the Formedils(joint national organisms being at present set up at national and regional level for the promotion of the financing of intervention). In 1984, through FORMEDIL's national branch 18 projects for 2,000 pupils were presented to the European Social Fund.

3.1.6 The Building School's Financing Model

The Building School's financing is provided for essentially by returns from a part of the contributions paid by the enterprises into the Building Fund and calculated at 1% of the workers' salaries. This type of financing represents one of the strong points of the schools as it guarantees sufficiency of means and autonomy. Other sources of financing are the EEC contributions to projects passed by the European Social Fund and, with regard only to those retraining courses held at regional level, contributions of the Latium Regional Authority towards projects passed and funded by the national "Fondo di Rotazione" (Ministry of Labour's Training Fund).

3.1.7 Services granted to the students in training

The students may lodge on the School's premises if they choose to board. Besides the canteen, personal equipment (professional clothing and tools), access to the didactic-technical structures during free time, the students also have the right to an attendance grant (of about 80,000 Italian Liras per month) as well as a refund of travel expenses.

3.1.8"Co - management" in practice: some conclusions

The co - operative model put into practice by the CEFME seems to have given results as far as relations between the two partners and the efficacy of the intervention are concerned. Relations between ACER and the trade unions, and these between the Council of Administration and the Dirctor General of the School seem to be marked by maximum collaboration. This is demonstrated by the fact that all the decisions passed by the Council of Administration are always approved unanimous and not by a majority although the Statute allows for this latter possibility.

Problems can and do arise between tradeunion organizations with regard to the assignment /rotation of posts within the CEFME's staff (The General Direction and the three Technical-Administrative, Didactic and Residential Directions).

Relations between the CEFME and the other institutional bodies (The Provveditorato, the schools and the Employment Exchanges) are frequent. An agreement for the restoration of the Castle of Perna has been stipulated with the Roman Municipal Authority. Here, in the locality of Decima (in Rome's municipal area), the School has been able to open up a yard for the training of pupils and has permitted the Municipal Authority of Rome to save up to 60% of the restoration costs (paying only the costs of the materials used).

There are, however, difficulties and problems. The Pomezia School is today being used well below its potential with regard to the courses set up, the type of trainees attracted towards it, its exploitation on a 24 - hour basis.

There is, besides, still much to be done with regard to the functionning of the structure, the quality and variety of the training courses. To this end, the proposed platform for renewal of the national contract, that will be proposed to the building workers, points out the need:

- to extend vocational training to the white collar staff, with funding by the companies;
- to have apprenticeship handled by the Building Schools, raising the number of basic and theoretical training;
- to favour the utilization of CFL on the basis of suitable re - regulation, leaving apprenticeship for the 15/18-year-old group;

- to utilize periods of CIG and Special Unemployment Subsidies and organize retraining courses for workers;
- to promote specialization courses for technicians and middle management (cadres);
- to promote study/work initiatives for new graduates from the senior secondary schools and from the university faculties with some bearing on the building trade and who intend working in the constructions field.

To favour the development of vecational training, the social partners have urged, within the framework of a supplementary provincial agreement, the setting up of a joint Regional Committee for vocational training (Formedil Lazio). This organization has the task of carring out at regional level, the statutary aims of the national FORMEDIL, already set up according to the Contract of 1983, to co-ordinate the initiatives being carried out at provincial level (European Social Fund projects and Voacational and training plans) and for the presentation of a coordinated programme of intervention for the Latium Region. The supplementary provincial agreement makes specific mention of the CEFME as the suitable centre, on account of its structures and its didactic experience, the seat of Latium's Formedil.

Finally, the Region aims at placing the activities of the CEFME within the framework of its regional vocational training plan. Given the need to requalify and potentiate Regional vocational training, it has been suggested that the jointly managed training institution model be transferred to the training activities run and controlled by a number of regions (for example the South). According to some experts this project would be more feasable in the case of "new" than in that of the transformation of "old" ones. This on account of the problems connected with recycling structures and human resourses (trainers) often inadequate for new training tasks.

On the other hand, it is precisely with regard to new initiatives that this model, as illustrated through the Pomezia School shows the greatest difficulties of adaptation: a) sectorial delimitation of the professional profiles (which end up becoming traditional medium-to-low- craft skills, even if up to date) with respect to the new technologies which are of an intersectorial character; b) competition with the parallel market (both black and grey) of irregular work; c)the availability of young people with an insufficient educational background and poor scholastic careers.

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3.2 Experiences in the banking sector in a region of the so-called "Third Italy" with particular reference to female workers.

3.2.1. Training in banks

A case- study on participation in vocational training in the banking sector is of at least two-fold interest, which emerges more sharply when contrasted with the one on the building trade just examined. In fact this is a sector in the services field which has undergone a strong increase in employement over the past few years: employment in banking concerns has risen betwen 1970 and 1985 from 142,000 to 304,000, that is by 114% , against a 43% increment for the services sector on the whole over the same period, and a mere 7.1 % increase in employment in general .

Basides, it is a sector in which the female component has increased significantly and where the sex ratio has changed considerably (see Table).

The considerable increase in hiring that has been thus determined as well as the sizable reconversion , mobility and reorganization processes imposed by the new technologies havé led to a growing demand for training . The expansion of training within banks is a relatively recent phenomenon in rapid expantion : from a recent sample survey (see:Formazione, ABI,n.1) it emerges thet before 1971 only 12% of the banks examined had begun training activities, but that this figure had risen to 30% by 1975, while as many as 55% of the banks began training experiences between 1976 and 1980 .

Attention towards the problems created by the growing female presence and the increased demand for training is shown by a number of studies and conferences carried out by the social partners.

The FIDAL/CGIL , in particular the women's group of the Vicenza area, carried out an enquiry into the Condition of women in the bank, elaborating data gathered through distribution of special questionaires to women workers.

From this inquest it emerges , among other things, that the banking women are relatively young: the maximum level of hiring in banks was reached during the 1977/79 period in coincidence with the wholesale introduction of informatics. As a result, the majority of women are employed at initial clerical career level. The FIDAC/CGIL, on the basis of the findings of this inquiry, noted that dissatisfaction with work for the most part was connected with problems related to professional know-how, to career and working-hours rather than with discrimination as such.

FABI, too, held a Convention in 1983 on "The Female Presence in Italian Banks".

From the "research on female employment in the banking concerns" carried out by the Centro Ricerca Organizzazione Azendiale of the Bocconi University of Milan (1984) it emerges that, whereas in banking the managerial and executive career is strictly connected with age and seniority, the managerial and executive posts occupiable by women are necessarily limited due to the low number of women with the appropriate age and seniority requirements, since until the seventies very few women entered banking at all. There also emerges a negative discrimination (though slight) as far as the professional career is concerned, in that, in 1984 the proportion between males and females promoted and the total male staff was 13.0%, while among the female staff the proportion was 11.4%.

From the data concerning training, it emerges that in

1984 the amount of managerial and professional training carried out by the bank was on a level, more or less, with other sectors of industry and of the services in Italy.

In terms of training days per person there is a difference of approach to male and female workers with the same type of course: for the males one finds more specialist/managerial training, for the females greater initial/professional training and more language courses.

The Associazione Bancaria Italiana (ABI), in collaboration with the Bank of Italy and the Banking Employers'Association has promoted a survey on the "state and prospect of training in the banking sector", from which emerges the fact that the introduction of training activities within the banking institutions, with the creation of special training offices, goes back to the seventies. This means it is of relatively recent origin when the banks were going through a period of great expansion and consequent increase in hiring. This origin explains some of the features of in-bank training:

1) it looks like a kind of "home-made" training, aimed at fitting the needs of the internal labour market, at "socializing" employees within the firm,at legitimizing the career structure and having very few contacts with the external market and giving little attention to the dynamics of productivity and the organization of work. The closed nature of the training model explains , in part, the almost exclusive reference to professional trainers for the planning and running of the training activities (Consultant Agencies) and the exclusion of a say by the social partners in matters of planning and control. Only the lesser banks, due to the evident difficulty of keeping the process closed within their own institute, have availed of training centres and of the larger banks ,too, to

train staff;

2) training was aimed at coaching and the promotion of an enterprising mentality and has catered above all for the needs of the newly-hired and the white-collar staff, especially at lower levels. The episodic and non-target nature of these training activities and the lack of connection with production and manpower planning and with the need to meet the requirements of development and organization explain the lack of systematic practices of evaluation/verification of the training process, which the Study reports.

During the present period, important changes of outlook can be noted. The employment boom has ended and the banks have become more aware of the need for rationalization and efficiency in organization. Besides, the market has imposed considerable changes in products and processes which have changed the "quality" of training demands. Emphasis has been placed, therefore, upon specialized training in the new processes or the new functions (for example the commercial ones) tailored for high level staff.

The participation of the social partners follows a parallel pattern which is not necessarily converging on and in harmony wit these changes. The inquiry documents: an increase in the demand for training by the trade unions, by the employers' associations, by the enterprises and by the staff managers; " the atmosphere regarding training (with regard to involvement) appears from the response to be decidedly positive (op cit. p.12)".

The principal normative vehicles through which the social partners formalize their request for more training are the national collective contracts and the supplementary company contracts.

Such normative mechanisms foresee specific guarantees for carrying out the contracts themselves. In particular, at the request of the trade unions, six-monthly encounters with the direction may be held where the problems concerning work relations can be discussed and suitable provisions made.

The national collective contract for the banking sector, stipulated in 1983, contains provisions regarding professional training. In the chapter entitled " professional training, skilling and up-dating", suitable training for newly-hired white-collar staff, to be held during normal working hours is foreseen. It has also been stipulated that at the request of the tradeunion organizations, meeting to illustrate matters of tradeunion and labour interests, may be held. Furthermore the companies , in order to favour an increase in professional capacity, shall promote annual non-selective professional training and/or refresher courses, open to the voluntary participation of the white-collar staff on permanent contract, to be held during normal working hours.

These clauses foresee, besides, that the time and the modalities of the courses must be made known in advance to the staff and the company's trade union representatives and that the general direction must examine any recommendations with regard to the courses made by the co-ordinating body of the company's tradeunion representatives.

Not always does this increased interest in and request for training become real and efficacious participation, breaking down the traditional isolation barriers in the banks' training offices. These offices, which took care of the realization of the training projects used, in fact, to limit themselves to rendering operative the initiatives set up , thus responding with considerable autonomy, to the demands of the social partners. They rarely carried out consultant functions; thus they found themselves in a position of "line" rather than in one of "staff". The very involvement of those who availed of the training programmes, that is the workers themselves, is seen to have been rather formal and unresponsive,because "they rarely knew the aims and the modalities of the working iter awaiting them" and they found themselves obliged to undergo training without an analysis of the motivation and only for the sake of job content. Therefore, the workers' attitude appeared "ambivalent, divided between a benevolent acceptance and a substantial indifference...".

Another fact connected with insufficient participation that emerges from the survey is that of discontinuity and assessment: "one gets the impression that once the annual packet of training projects has been defined, the activities are not supported in a sufficiently continuous way by ulterior information for the participants but that they follow their own course(p. 11)" The assessment, besides, is limited to an analysis of the impact of training on immediate job performance, on standardization of conduct and knowledge and the normalization of the atmosphere within the company, without penetrating into more significant questions concerning behaviour/attitude and industrial 'culture'.

Awareness of these lacks, as well as external pressure from the "market" is bringing about deep change in the quality of training activities in banks, with a shift of targetting to higher levels, with a more direct and "motivated" interest on the part of the company managements and/or on the part of the workers, and with emphasis on enterprising 'culture' (see scheme).

Having established the fact that the explicit request for participation by the social partners in the training process in this sector has grown, it remains to be seen whether these requests have any real effect upon the changes taking place or are simply a quantitative extension of the formal aspect of the problem. To this question (and to others connected with it) we have tried to give an answer by means of ad hoc verification of a particular and specific situation.

3.2.2 The Case of the Tuscan Banks.

Tuscany is a region of central Italy where the development process, due to small and medium companies and spread of enterprising and of technological innovation, has been particularily vivacious.

With Emilia and the "Adriatic Line" regions, Tuscany has had a type of development (the so-called "third Italy", in that it is distinct from both the backward Italy of the South and the "industrial triangle" of the North) that has turned out to be particularily capable of handling, with flexibility , the shocks of the seventies, and has therefore found theoreticians and supporters in Italy and abroad (see Brusco, Becattini, Piore and Sabel). One of the basic characteristics of this model is the elevated level of involvement in the production process of the social partners (employers' and tradeunion organizations, public bodies etc). We wished to verify, in this region and within the ambit of this model, if participation in the training process has retained and followed the changes in training in the banking sector.

It is necessary to point out that the value of the case is more emblematic than representative, in fact, we find ourselves in what the experts call the best conditions for efficacious participation in training activities. Besides, the principal banking institutes operating in the Region are public law bodies (Monte dei Paschi di Siena, Banca Toscana) or Savings Banks (Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, Cassa di Risparmio e Depositi di Prato) or Popular Banks (Banca Popolare dell'Etruria). The data of these banks confirm the fact that the increase of female employement is considerable(+ 96% in the Banca Toscana , + 36% in the Monte dei Paschi,+ 110% in the Banca Popolare dell'Etruria, + 45% in the Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze and as much as +45% in the Prato savings bank). Besides,it is significant that the increase in first and second level clerical women staff corrisponds with an equivalent decrease in male occupation. In the upper ranks of employment the growth of female employment is more relevant than that of males.

From a number of company contracts an increased demand for contractual regulation of training emerges quite clearly.

The supplementary contract of one of Tuscany's leading banks, following agreements between the social partners , raises the minimum training period for newly hired first level employees , which the 1983 National Collective contract has established, doubling it to eight weeks. Of these , four are for theoretical-pratical training in the Training Centres , two set aside for on-the-job training and the rest to be used elastcally at the Training Centres and/or at one of the company's branches or at the Offices of the General Direction.

As far as the second level staff is concerned ,(which with the preceding level represents an important female employment sector), the supplementary contract multiplies the minimum training period forseen by the National Contract for the newly hired, by two and half, taking it up to five weeks . Of these, three weeks are dedicated to theoretical- pratical training at one of the Centres and two for job adaptation.

In the case that , due to certain operative needs , it is necessary to use the training time of first and second level employees differently from the norms set down in the contracts, it is requirsd that the bank comunicate this to the company Unions.

Recently, on the basis of initiatives carried out by the company's trades unions , another banking institute operating in Tuscany stipulated a supplementary contract with the company for the training of white collar, caretakers and auxiliar staff. This contract forsees that newly hired white-collar staff avail of a training period of at least twelve weeks; to five of these are also eligible employees promoted to the first level from the lower level or from any other career level. To this course, devoted to banking Practice at the Training Centre, all are eligible.

This period is followed by the placing of the newly employed within the staff at the Head Branches or Autonomus Branches for pratical training for four weeks under the guidance of experienced staff of the branches themselves. The remaining three weeks are dedicated to training in the Branch were the employee will work on a permanent basis.

A further specific clause agreed upon by the partners forsees the undertaking to promote, during working hours, at least four " training/information type courses " and " specialization courses" open to voluntary participation .

The first type lasts thirteen days of which three are dedicated to " information " and the other ten to " coaching " .

The first level employees, the clsrks and ushers are eligible for the " information " phase . The possibility of choosing , within the " training " ambit, among four different subjects is given . The four subjects are: basic course, a course on bank credit issues , a course on questions of organization and finally one on themes requsstes by the participants.

The "specialization courses" may regard the following topics: Executive functions, Risk Management , Foreign Banking , the Stock Exchange, Development/Marketing, and may be attended by upper level employees and those first level clerical employees at the top of the seniority lists.

At the end of each course the participants undergo a qualifying exam at which four bank employees nominated by the Secretariats of the Trade Unions take part.

Those employees who pass the exam have the right on the basis of their placing in a merits list, to choose a branch office of the ones indicated by the banks at the moment of setting up the courses where the specific qualifications learnt at the courses are put to use; From the date of nomination on the basis of the aforementioned choice, the employees are promoted to the level immediately above the previous one, they were employed in up to that moment.

Until recently, the negotiations carried out at national level between Assicredito ≠ and the Banking tradeunion organizations have permitted the drawing up of an agreement for a collective national contract for the "cadres", the white collar staff, clerks and ushers of the credit sector.

[illegible]

≠ Banking Employers' Association.

The new contract conditions, which will remain effective until 31st. December 1988, face themes connected with the organization and technical functioning of the banks, such as flexible working hours.

As far as the role of the trade unions is connected a greater number than before of informative communiqués regarding aspects that most directly concern work relations, are foreseen. In particular it is foreseen that the company grant to the trade unions, at their request, information concerning topics such as employment trends and the destination of the newly employed to the various branch offices, indicating separately data concerning males and females.

Besides, the national collective contract requires the separate communication of separate data on female and male staff as far as training and turnover are concerned.

Finally, the new norms foresee that the criteria concerning distance control of employee performance and CFL be set down, and define and regulate the new class of the "cadres" (established by the cadre recognition law of 1985). This category is characterized by functions that involve particular hierarchical-executive responsabilities, that is, elevated professional skill and decisional powers.

2.3 Conclusions

Definition by contract of contents and duration of courses , the extension of the minimal training periods, obligations concerning information and consultations, participation in the Examination Boards, forecasting and planning of job opportunities and placing within career structures: these are the new (initial but qualitatively important) signals of a more decisive contribution by plant-level bargaining towards the definition of the role of the social partners in training processes.

These signals qualify but do not change the opinion that the level of real involvement and control is insufficient. "Participation in training processes is non-existant", one director of an important bank training centre told us. Participation (even in the most advanced situations such as Tuscany) hardly ever goes beyond setting down in contracts some aspects concerning participation. The agreements (with some significant exceptions contained in the last contract platform) lack specific indications concerning female staff . The increase of female employment in the sector, with all its training implications, seems to have taken place largely outside the active intervention of the trade unions. Besides, in general, the unions seem to have encountered great difficulty in following and controlling processes of restrusturing and in overcoming their traditional weakness within the sector.

Once again an efficacy constraint in participation in training seems to be closely connected with constraint in the evolution of the industrial-relations system. The paradox lies in the fact that it is within the very sector of banking that the participation in training is most wanting and weakest and adaptation to the mechanisms of industrial relations is the slowest and the most laboured. In fact in banking the internal labour market is in great expansion, the upgrading of qualifications and the growth of employment is noteworthy, there is still some form of public regulating defence against competition and the demand for training is on the increase and "qualitatively" improving.

Thus in the very humus of favourable conditions (markets regulation, labour force structures), where setting up dialogue should be easier, one encounters greater delays and resistance. Therefore the case-study, in conclusion, points towards the importance of conditions of a subjective nature concerning the role of the social partners, the strategies of the collective subjects and their capacity for representation.

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TABLE

Bank employees in percentages according to sex and skill levels

	Men	Women
1976	79.3%	20.7%
1980	77.4%	22.6%
1984	76.6%	23.4%

Year	Executive			White collar			Subsidiary		
	M.	F.	% of total	M.	F.	% of total	M.	F	% of total
1976:	99.4%	0.6%	12.1%	75.3%	24.7%	79.7%	97.7%	2.3%	4.6%
1980:	98.8%	1.2%	11.1%	74.0%	26.0%	79.0%	97.2%	2.8%	5.3%
1984:	97.4%	2.6%	13.2%	71.9 %	28.1%	79.4%	96.8%	3.2%	4.2%

Year	Auxiliaries (cleaners and other manual staff)		
	men	women	% of total
1976	68.5%	31.5%	2.4%
1980	69.9%	30.1%	3.1%
1984	70.5%	29.5%	2.0%

CRORA research - carried out by the Bocconi University of Milan on a sample of 175 firms.

Summary of participation in training in the banks-from an empirical survey

	Phase 1: beginnings and consolidation 1971 1980	Phase 2: the actual state of things 1981 - today	Phase 3: prospects for the nineties.
Who is engaged in training?	- 63% of the firms interviewd - the large banks of the North and Centre - Since 1975 all banks operating at national level.	- 12% og remaining banks - spread to a number of banks at local level.	- almost all firms will effect training.
Reference models	- Mainly external specialized training-centres - job-specific coaching.	- Internal/external - University teachers - consultants - specialized training - beginning of closer links with internal labour market and career partners.	-Internal/External - Changes of methods and contents - Integration of training with career strutures and with internal labour markets.
Aims Trainees Methodologies.	- Newly-hired white collar and executive staff (specialized services) - Teaching through discussion	Training geared to changes - Organization development - Productivity efficiency - Management training for executives - Specialist training for all white-collar staff - Basic training for newly-hired - Diversified teaching	-Productivity/efficiency -Needs of a changing market:Organizational changes/automation. - Greater managerial t. for executives - Specialized training for white-collars
Role of the social partners	-"Isolation" of the training processes from the production ones -"Selfcentred" socialization training - Training is considered by the staff distant and inefficient.	- training gradually integrates itself into company planning - The request for training by the social partners grows and spreads - Effective participation of the collective subjects in training still wanting - Beginning of the regulation of duration contents etc, through contracts.	- Further regulation of training in contracts - Linking of training with careers and CFL and with the restructuring of firms and employment cuts. - Demand for participation must go beyond mere stipulation of agreements etc. and towards planning, assessment etc. of training intervention.

Reference: P.Pascucci, and M. Spatafora: "Indagine" 1986

3.3 Some experiences in the metal and mechanical sector in the Lombardy Region.

3.3.1 The role of the social partners in the Vocational-Training System in the Lombardy Region.

The regional laws and norms of Lombardy foresee and guarantee the participation of the social partners in the planning, implementation and assessment of training activities with a number of different modalities which can be summed up as follows:

- planning of the training activities. Representatives of the Employers' and Tradeunion Organizations are members of the bodies charged with planning: the Provincial Commissions for Vocational Training set up within each province, and the Regional Vocational Training Council. A protocol between the Regional Government and the trade unions is foreseen by legislation. This protocol allows for express and preliminary consultation of the tradeunion organizations with regard to most of the important decisions to be taken by the Regional Administration, among which the longterm plan for Vocational Training;

- setting up of a special committee (Comitato di Controllo Sociale) in every Vocational Training Centre, composed of representatives of the Employers' and the Trade Union organizations. It is compulsory to obtain the opinion of the Committee on the most important decisions of the centre: proposals for activities, criteria for the provision of services to trainees, disciplinary regulations, didactic experimentation, etc.

- the social partners shall be represented on the Examination Boards having the faculty to grant certificates of qualification and specialization;

- a special consulting committee is foreseen for those training activities held outside the Vocational Training Centre system (for example, projects financed by the EEC and/or the State and the Region, and therefore all training projects aimed at requalifying workers). This Committee aids the evaluation of projects with theparticipation of representatives both of the Employers' Associations and the Trades Unions. For such initiatives, is forseen, a final test aimed at assessing whether the objectives have been reached or not . More often than not , in fact there is no Certificate of qualification or specialization at the end of the courses. The assessment is to be carried out by representatives of the regional authorities, of the regional Labour office and the social partners .

It does not appear easy to sum up the experience of participation by the social partners owing to the complexity and variety of levels and mechanisms involved in the implementation and the assessment of training intervention. Certainly the contribution of the social partners would seem to be present in a more continuos and efficient way at the moment of planning rather than at the moment of implementation.

This may be due to the fact that the present organization of the Vocational Training Centres is of the "school" type, which explains the difficulties met by the social partners when trying to play their specific role. Even at the moment of assessment of training initiatives the participation of the social partners seems rather formal within the ambit of the Examination Boards, while the participation of the Trade Unions seems to be more attentive and active when assessing those training activities carried out by the firms or by the centres in collaboration with the firms.

Employment trends in the metal and mechanical industry in Lombardy

	1984/ 1983	1985/1984	1986/1985
Accessions	67,505	78,279	90,007
	△ -4,925	△ -2,047	△ + 10,388
Separations	72,430	80,326	79,619
CIG -yearly moving averages	45,203,000	42,438,000	34,[illegible],000

The mechanical sector has been the scene over the past few years of important restructuring due to the introduction of the new electronic technologies that changed radically the organization of work,of traditional profiles. The introduction of the new technologies has particularily affected the composition and quality of employment. In this context training has been and goes on being one of the most important mechanisms that accompanies the changes created by technology.

As an example of this we give the data emerging from a survey carried out on behalf of the Lombardy Region by theIRER (Institute for Economic and Social Research) of Milan in 1986 on a sample of 98 companies. The data show the relative importance of these changes with regard to the different occupations (see Table 1 p. 124)

Effects on employment of technological innovation. Percentage variation per type of professional profile:

RD and technical offices

Managers
Project designers
Software experts
Technical designers
Blue collars

Sales and purchases

Sales and purchases experts
(buyers, agents, salesmen etc.)
Technical Sales assistants

Production

Machine operator
Numerical control machines
Toolmakers
Mechanical maintainence
Electrical maintainence
Electronical maintainence
Internal transport
Cappenters, boiler operators,welders, plumbers
Unskilled assembly staff
Quality control and electrical subsystems
Quality and sampling of final product

In the Lombardy Region the mechanical sector has made greatest use of "training" resourses and in particular of training projects funded by the Public Administration; table 2 gives the data:

Table 2

Retraining interventions carried out with the contribution of the European Social Fund and the National "Fondo di Rotazione" over the past three years. The enterprises examined belong to various firm sizes:

YEAR	number of Projects	Number of trainees
1984	25	488
1985	30	624
1986	20	1220

3.3.2 Presentation of a number of company case-studies

Of the numerous training interventions aimed at retraining employees in the mechanical sector carried out on public funds we have chosen three with different characteristics:

- the first case (the Italtel company) represents a formalized model based upon specially created structures, with the participation of the social partners, in the context of a large company involved in an important and generalized restructuring of various plants and the introduction of new product and processing technologies. It must be pointed out that - as a matter of a certain importance - in this case the participation of the social partners is not limited to the training packet alone but concerns also the phases prior to training(restructuring targets,organization of labour,etc.)

- the second case (that of the Alfa Romeo Company) presents a situation of participation by the social partners in the planning, in the implementation and assessment phases of training in a context of grave crisis. In particular,participation follows an agreement regarding the placing of a large number of workers, both white and blue collars, under CIG regime, and therefore takes place in a strongly conflictual atmosphere. One must also take into account that the basic purpose, though not explicitly declared, was that of creating external mobility (alias "redundancy") for a number of workers.

- the third case (that of the Ercole Marelli company) represents a "process" of participation by the social partners in a project for the mobility outside of the firm of workers declared redundant. In this case training is obviously only one aspect (and one mechanism) of an event in which the Public Administration played a decidedly active role.

3.3.3 The Italtel case

The Italtel case illustrates a strategy of Tradeunion involvement in a process of massive restructuring of a company due to the passage from electro-mechanical to electronic production.

Said involvement concerns not only training intervention but also the organization of work and technological innovation, that is conditions that determine the character of training requirements.

The participation of the Trade Unions takes the form of a system of information procedures and of a company-level technical commission for the periodical discussion of annual training projects and plans.

Plant-level industrial relations vis-á-vis vocational training

The strategy that has characterised plant-level industrial relations since 1981 has been based upon an intensive utilization of the information procedures system, also through the stipulation of special tradeunion agreements with the company, such as that of the 15th. April 1981 and that of the 13th. March 1982.

In particular these latter agreements have identified and institutionalised moments of encounter and consultation to discuss the updating of the five-year industrial plan and to verify periodically the development and management of programmed initiatives.

Therefore, the compeny and the trade unions, while maintaining their separate roles of responsability, have chosen the consultations solution in their search for a negotiated way to verify jointly types of initiatives to take and to bargain over the specific means of adapting and utilizing human resourses (vocational training, organization of work etc.)

Among the strategies used to reach the targets identified by the longterm plans, the company has given considerable attention to problems connected with the organization of work and in a more general way to the need of reaching overall higher production levels and an adequate increment of efficiency at all operative levels, as well as to training.

In particular, with regard to this latter topic, the company and the trade unions were obliged to face in a systematic manner the increasing need for the professional qualification of workers.

It was evident that the framework set down by the industrial strategy plan called for the definition of adequate training programmes for a considerable number of workers over a relatively short period. In fact the plan foresaw an increasingly rapid introduction of new production processes, a modification of traditional managerial roles and a continuous updating of professional know-how.

These considerations (as well as the training needs deriving from the unbalance caused by internal and external mobility of staff) have led to informal undertakings and specific agreements calling for the elaboration of mid-to-long-term training plans. A special "technical bipartite commission", composed of company experts and trade union representatives, has been set up.

The Technical Commission and Planning

During 1981 a series of encounters between the company and the trade unions set down the basis of a strategic plan for the Italtel company: the 1981-1985 plan, and more detailed yearly training programmes.

Besides, it is foreseen that the "Technical Commission" shall establish encounters at plant level tp define procedures by which the partners (firm and trade unions) can regulate relations in connection with the operative modalities of the training programmes (eligibility criteria, contents, teaching methodology etc.).

The agreement foresees "written information" aimed at informing staff about, and improving their awareness of, the "processes of change taking place within productions and the contribution expected from the various components of the company". Thus the idea of generalized intervention emerged, which was discussed by the Technical Commission meeting, for the first time in October 1981.

At the meeting a modular tree-scheme for comprehensive training was designed. The scheme forsaw training modules characterized by multipurpose basic training aimed at the acquisition of specific know-how and skills. Within the scheme there exists the possibility of cfeating a number of different training iters, according to the desired requirements of a technological and organizational nature, and depending upon the starting and final skill levels.

The analysis of the themes proposed and the setting down of the first broad training scheme took a few months, the definitive plan was part of the March 1982 agreement and accepted as the basic document for the 1981-1985 period.

Since then, the Technical Committee for Training has met periodically to discuss annual training plans and lines of priority intervention.

This way, extremely widespread training intervention has been possible involving large sections of the company's personnel over the past few years, as follows:

1985 909,634 hours for 8,999 persons

1986 622,516 hours for 7,329 persons.

3.3.4 The Alfa Romeo Case - Employees under CIG Régime.

The Lombardy Region intervened stipulating an agreement between the social partners which foresaw the institution of a mixed commission of the Lombardy Region itself, the Trade Unions and the Company along with the Body running the courses (ANEIFAP). This intervention followed an agreement between the social partners, at national level, which foresaw training intervention for workers under CIG of two main types: the first aimed at retraining with a view to filling new jobs within the firm itself and therefore with the " guarantee " of re-employment; the other was aimed more generally at increasing the technical and professional skills of the workers and was based upon professional figures not related directly to the company's restructuring plans and therefore did not offer any "guarantee" with regard to re-employment.

The Committee's task was to verify the application of the aforesaid agreement relative to workers in the Lombardy area. The regional agreement also gave the Commission the task of examining and expressing its opinion regarding all the training interventions planned by the company and foreseeing public funding, so as to verify inter-relations between training and the company's plans for restructuring.

The 1982 agreement

The gap between commercial needs and production capacity induced the Alfa Romeo Group to ask for recognition of its state of crisis, on the basis of the law governing CIG. The provision was passed by the Ministry for Labour in May 1982.

In this context, the Company stipulated with the Trade Unions the agreement of March 1982 which aimed at"...recovery of productivity by re-establishing relations between direct and indirect labour and recovery of running efficiency"

In particular, said agreement established recourse to CIG as and from 18th. March 1982 for 5,708 employees, a part of which was to be involved in "suitable training aimed at updating and at skill recovery".

It established , besides, that the aforesaid training shall be aimed at:

A. the requalification of personnel with a view to reutilization in new activities,
B. the growth of technical and professional know-how.

On the basis of the elements quoted,the schemes for a training plan for white and blue collars was drawn up.

The following general objectives were singled out by the agreement:

- to give basic training in know-how and skills such as to allow for the performance of new tasks (requalification)

- to give skills, supplementary to those proper to the trade (increase of technical and professional skill)

In other terms the training interventions must contemplate:

- for a part of the trainees technical/practical training so that they are enabled to carry out tasks different from, on in any case at a higher level, than previous ones;

- for the rest of the trainees the training foresees contents relative to the themes contained in the agreement itself (industrial accounting, quality control and guarantee of, product, industrialization of the product, informatics, plant and machinery maintainence, integration of production processes).

3.3.5 The Ercole Marelli Company : Mobility outside the firm

The crisis that hit the Ercole Marelli firm (under extraordinary administration) led to considerable redundancy of both white and blue collar staff.

At regional level an agreement , aimed at re-employment of workers declared redundant, was drawn up. This agreement foresaw the setting up of a mixed Region-Trade Union-Company Commission. The "Lombardia Lavoro"(a company in which the Region is the major shareholder and which aims at favouring the matching of labour supply and demand) has been called upon to participate on the Commission .

The Commission, with the support of Lombardia Lavoro, tried to find out employment prospects and in relation to them planned ad hoc training intervention. The Commission has re-examined its mandate at the end of each re-employment operation.

TABLE 1

Chronology of the courses for Marelli staff on C.I.G.

11th June 1986 General assembly at the E.Marelli works for the presentation of the project. In the morning the factory-workers were present and in the afternoon the white-collar workers. Total present about 150/160 person.

Those interested in following a course were asked to answer a questionnaire giving personal data and to choose a course , offering also an alternative choice.

The choice was among the following courses:

1) Electric-mechanical technicians and winding fitters .
2) Traditional tool-machines and computerized numerical control machines .
3) Polivalent maintainance personnel.
4) Welders and carpenters.
5) Catering.
6) Import/Export administation.
7) Secretarial -Office automation.
8) Electronic computer programmess.
9) Public transport drivers.

The persons involved in the various phases of training were 125 in number.

114 answered the questionnaire.

30th June and the 1st, 2nd. July 1986 } The applicants took a psycological and aptitude test. Present :109 persons.

4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, } Personal interviews were then held at wich 122 took part. the choice of the courses was made by 108 persons. Of these four chose the "Catering" course which was not held. Those who dropped out during the various phases (beginning, during the courses and before the end):25.

2nd September 1986 : Beginning of the courses.Those who began numbered 92. Those who completed them 73.

17th,18th and 19th december 1986 : Assessment at the end of the courses and conferring of certificate of attendance.

TABLE 2

Implementation relative to the training projects under the agreements between the Ercole Marelli firm, the F.L.M. - Federazione Lavoratori Metalmeccanici (The Metal and Mechanical Workers' Tredunion Federation and the Lombardy Region, of the 20th. July 1985.

Within the 15th. September , the enterprises interested in setting up vocational training initiatives, aimed at the re-hiring of workers from the Ettore Marelli firm, under extraordinary administratio shall present their application to the Lombardy Region's Educational and Vocational Training Offices, so as to obtain access to the funds foreseen by the European Social Fund.

The training projects, which shall take place as and from the beginning of the 1986 financial year, must be in keeping with the new requirements approved by the EEC commission for the European Social Fund.

The courses may be held:

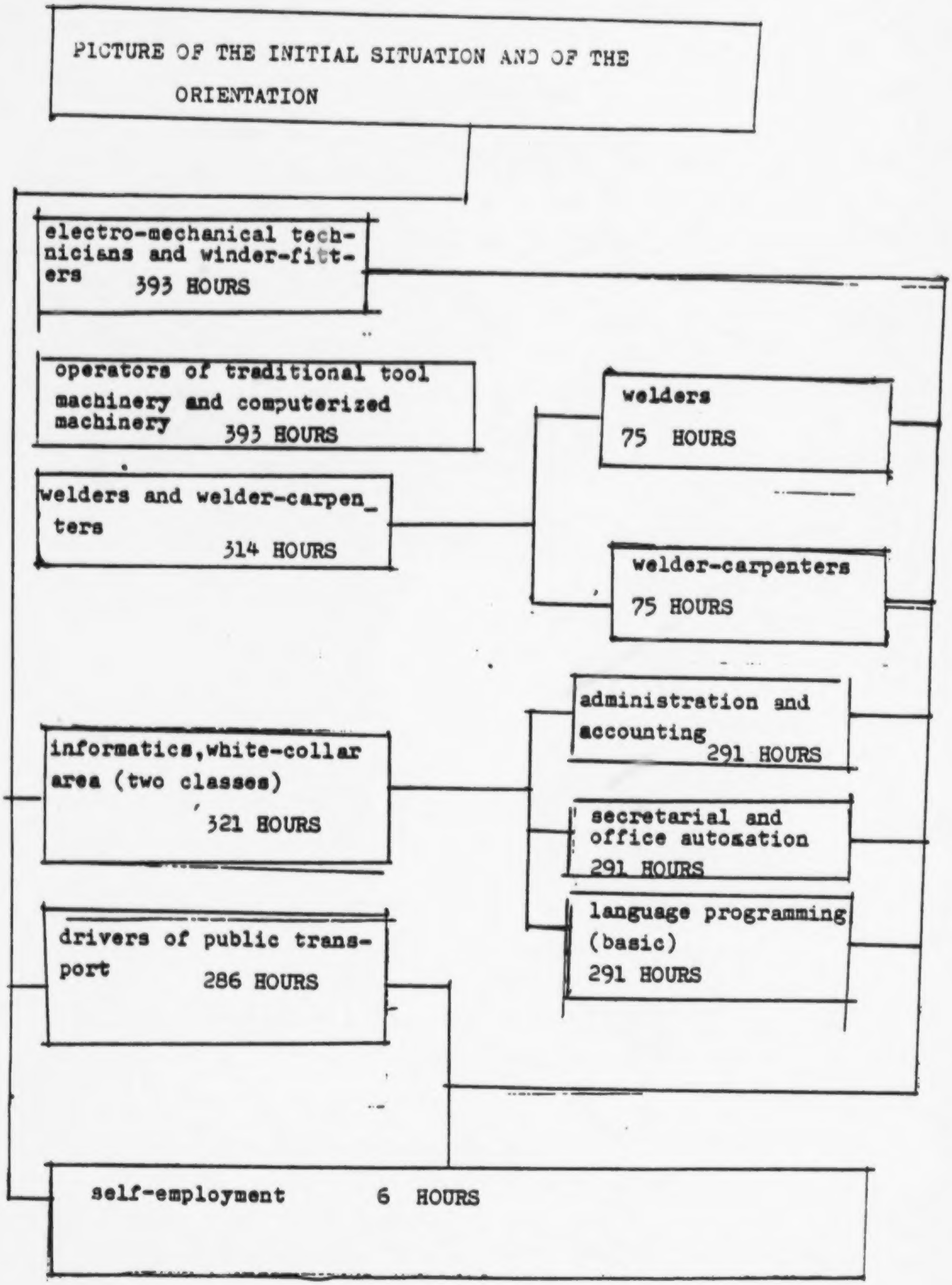
a) care of the Vocational Training Centres backed by the Region (those of the Region itself, of the local authorities, of consortia etc..)with inclusion of workers in courses already planned or about to be designed especially for this case (the intervention shall take place with the support of the firms interested on bases to be defined hereafter);

b) care of non-Regional structures (suitable for the training targets to be reached) or care of the firms themselves;

c) in mixed form, that is alternating between the Regional centres presumably for the theoretical part and the firms for the practical part.

TABLE 3

GENERAL SCHEME OF THE COURSES


PICTURE OF THE INITIAL SITUATION AND OF THE ORIENTATION
electro-mechanical technicians and winder-fitters 393 HOURS
operators of traditional tool machinery and computerized machinery 393 HOURS
welders and welder-carpenters 314 HOURS
welders 75 HOURS
welder-carpenters 75 HOURS
informatics, white-collar area (two classes) 321 HOURS
administration and accounting 291 HOURS
secretarial and office automation 291 HOURS
language programming (basic) 291 HOURS
drivers of public transport 286 HOURS
self-employment 6 HOURS

Chapter four

Survey of the attitudes of the social partners towards participation in vocational training.

The survey was carried out over the December 1986 - January 1987 period, by means of interviews with persons enjoying a privileged view of the question, using a questionnaire (see Appendix).

The persons to be interviewed were singled out on the basis of their representativeness and their experience in the sectors and on the basis of the representatives of their organizations.

We obtained nineteen answers, shown hereunder in the Synoptic Table. Of the nineteen three were institutional subjects, seven belonged to the larger industries' employers' organizations, two to co-operative organizations, four to the tradeunion organizations, two to training bodies, and one to an artisans organization.

The subject of the survey was the state of-and trends in-the role of the social partners in training as seen by the social partners themselves. The objective was to gather from a self-presentation of the state of the system, eléments regarding perception of the reasons behind-and the significance of-the crisis of participation in the training system. It was intended that in this way the principal direction and trends of proposed changes, already taking place or foreseen for the future should emerge. These objectives were chosen due to the fact that the survey was carried out among the subjects of the training system itself, rather than among its beneficiaries,that is the individual workers and firms.

In general, the willingness shown by the persons interviewed to express amply critical (and self-critical) opinions confirms the fact of the existence of a mature awareness of a need for considerable reform of participation mechanism

The judgement on the state of the training system expressed by the social partners is often openly critical: "dynamical, unguided, wasteful, of a generally low level, and in general not all appropriate to the needs of the labour market and the economy; rigid, bureaucratic, prone to be patronizing and very unbalanced from area to area". Drier and more lapidary the judgement expressed by another representative organization: " the system is falling to pieces".

The prevalent fact that emerges from the interviews, is that within this context of widespread dissatisfaction,there is a great differentiation in the level and in the quality of participation and therefore in its perceived efficacy.

The framework presents an ample spectrum of situations: some regions and provinces have at their disposal instruments for collecting information on the training systems capable of supporting procedures of periodical analysis and control. Other regions are unable to give exact information concerning the effective state of vocational training financed and run either directly or on the basis of conventions. Only a minority of Regional Administrations draw up Annual Reports on vocational training to present to the Minister for Labour as per the Law of 1978.

This widespread awareness of insufficiency does not take necessarily the form, of converging indications as to how to change the system Some, complain about the sterility of a "general dissatisfaction, which is expressed on all occasions when planning is carried out... but which offers no concrete solution nor yields practical effect". Actually, from the survey itself there emerges that the social partners have no clear perception of the changes taking place.

There are besides very few indications of concrete cases.

The principal flaw that the survey identifies is the gap between the institutional space allowed for participation to the social partners in planning intervention, which the majority considers sufficient, and the evaluation of the *efficacy* of involvement by the social partners in observation, analysis and planning etc., which the majority considers negatively. An even greater gap emerges between the former and *effective influence upon concrete aspects* of training, such as the definition of programme contents, of management criteria and control. What is wanting is a mechanism for observation and evaluation of efficacy by the social partners, especially in connection with training within the firms. Not surprisingly this lack is also responsible for the much lamented absense of effective control, eventhough there are a number of company cases of tradeunion participation in retraining processes connected with restructuring.

Even more ineffective and indequate are judged the institutional mechanisms for *joint assessment* of the efficacy of training, especially at central level. It is only in connection with CFL that institutional joint organizations for the evaluation of training activities operate.

In any case, the assessment intervention by the partners is seen as distant and somehow abstract because it is constrained by the nature of conflictual relations. "There are theoretical programmes but there are far fewer practical projects inspired by concreteness such as there would be if the convergence of interests were *not only achieved at political level* but also and above all at technical and economic level".

The reasons put forward to explain the lack of commitment and efficacy in assessment can be attributed to two basic factors; the lack of "professionality" to be found in participation and the (excessive and/or distorted) "politicization" of intervention, due to an insufficient management culture within trade unions.

The theme of professionality emerges as a relevant cause of inefficiency, also in connection with the role of the training of "trainers". In general the attention to-and participation in-the question of the training of trainers by the social partners is considered insufficient, even if this point is indicated as a priority and as a problem to be solved urgently. In this regard two important indications emerge:

1) first of all, it has been seen that recently an advanced services activity, as a support to training, that makes "the figure of the trainer less important than before", is developing. Furthermore the new professional profiles of "the training activity project designer", and the profile of the assessment and controls expert, are neither codified nor contemplated by the training system nor by the participation mechanisms;

2) secondly, the technical re - adjustment of the quality of training given by the system is not always seen as deriving from processees of "internal formation" of trainers nor from requalification of the structures. Many propose "opening up" the system to external contributions, to the market and above all

to ad hoc specialist consultants. "It is necessary to reduce the role of the professional trainers (that is those giving a basic and broad training) to make room for specialists and experts in specific questions providing ad hoc temporary collaboration". Thus the specialised contents tend to be privileged over pedagogical issues.

Some point towards "the creation of a vaster market for professional training, thus destroying the monopoly-type "régimes" in existence today".

3) The implication is that the requalification of the system requires the mobility of teachers which, in the jargon of the social partners means favouring a cutting down on-and a turnover of-the system's permanent teaching staff. This evidently creates grave problems for the social partners directly involved in the management of training organizations, or more in general, finds an obstacle in those social organizations (above all local authorities and trade unions) which have the task of representing the training-centres' staff. In this capacity the social partners have sometimes played a " conservative" role by trying to maintain the existing system and by acting as a check on the changes deemed necessary.

Another theme that is commonly indicated among the causes of inefficiency is that of the "politicization" of participation. The will to partecipate is in the intentions of the partners considerable, but because scarsely productive, due to the excess confusion of local political interests with those of production and the market". Elsewhere we read that the institutional room allowed by legislation and contracts to participation in training activities "would be sufficient, but the problem is of a political nature, in that frequently the contrasts (both ideological and those more strictly connected with represented interests) that emerge on some occasions, spill over and complicate the contrasts that emerge in other bargaining contests."

At times politicization takes the form of party-political interference,like when "the task of elaborating programmes is assigned to.... consultants often nominated by the political parties".

But besides the "conflictuality" and the "politicization" questions,there are other characteristics of the industrial-relations system that have an effect upon the state of participation in the training process. There are above all the problems of frequency and duration, which some regard as being too episodic and discontinuous, while other think them to be regular and continuous. However, this regularity is of a purely "contractual" kind, as some point out, in that training is one of the themes connected with information procedures within the firms bargained for in the collective sectorial contracts, and is generally a part of the tradeunion claims platform. Participation, therefore, seems to follow the same cyclical and seasonal pattern as contracts and contract deadlines.

A second characteristic is the "conflict-dependent" nature of training, above all that at plant level. The involvement of the social partners, as far as the "newly-hired are concerned, is limited to managing the financial and others provisions of legislation" (such as CFL). "In the other cases (internal mobility, restructuring etc.) participation is expressed essentially within the ambit of more general company level controversy and subsequent assessment phases".

Thirdly, to the characteristic of the excessive formalization of participation must be added the complementary one of the rigidity of guidelines and procedures. It is essentially the training institutes that complain about the limitations created by the quantitative and formal assessment criteria imposed by the concession conditions of Regions and the Ministries and by the difficulty of acceeding to the facilitations provided by institutions such as the Fondo di Rotazione and the European Social Fund. The EEC too in this regard seems to create obstacles and proves to be rigid. Changes in the management criteria of the Social Fund have led to an increase in bureaucratic inflexibility on the part of the Regions. According to some, the entire system seems to be overly "hampered by the EEC directives" which the social partners would like to be able to influence and orientate more. It is paradoxical that this rigidness penalizes above all exchange and concerted action at inter-regional and international level: the opportunities offered to training at inter-regional and international level are considered lacking. The possibility of experiment is limited besides; in this regard the negative effect of "abuse" and the subsequent repressive intervention of the Magistrature has been remarked. This has led to the risk of potential "criminalization" of the operators, wherefore, those "responsible for the institutions tend to interpret the norms rigidly and to restrict the possibility of experimenting new training routes".

Lastly, participation is seen to be "procedural" and formal, often "bureucratic" and left "in the hands of local politics", so much so that it sometimes becomes a mere "obstacle to the administrative and organization efficiency of the training process"; in the eyes of the social partners participation of this kind reproduces the "faults" of the industrial-relations system.

Against the backdrop of this strongly critical self-presentation the perception of the *changes* taking place in the system of participaticipation in training emerges, even if this perception does not seem to us suffciently widespread, informed, and up to the enormous size of these changes, which often emerge on the margins and the out-skirts of the system.

In general all point out the "growing importance of the consensus of the social partners both at *legislative level* where it becomes the requisite for procedural agility (for example CFL as per law n. 863) or the priority condition (for example CFL as per law 113) for the approval of work-training projects and at bargaining level (Intersind-Tradeunion agreement of January 1987) so as to favour the spread of the CFL.

But the principal change "is above all ideological and means ceasing to consider training as a social buffer against the employment crisis" (as in the 1977 industrial reconversion law). Also in connection with the scarce functionality of a number of other interventions in support of restructuring, training tends to act today as a productive investment and a factor of company development.

According to some, we are going through a phase "of restructuring of staff and structures" which should lead to a shift of participation in training from support "to the logic of assistance that of economic development"; from a "social-welfare type recovery of school drop-outs" to the creation of new classes of technicians, managers and enterpreneurs.

The transition is naturally complex and barely at the initial stages: participation in the training system is still seen (or feared) as an instrument for strengthening the productions system.

In this regard it is interesting to quote some of the answers to the question whether participation changes the balance of power between the social partners. We seem to note the prevalence of "neutrality", seen however as "inefficacy" with regard to implicitly presumed objectives of utilizing training as a strengthening mechanism. "In fact, the lack of assessment methodologies does not allow for making the most of the action of the partners suspending or modifying the most inadequate types of activities".

This judgement of inefficacy is strongly held even where the "experiment of Protocols of Agreement between Public enterprises and the Trade Unions has modified behaviour of the subjects involved", whereas it pointed out that "the discrepancy between bargaining power which the partners wield at national level and consolidated equilibrium at local level" tends to increase. Two indications of conditioned strengthening of the Social partners bargaining power prove interesting.

1) on the one hand "compared with the political nature of the Trades Unions' bargaining power that of the individual small firms seems to have weakened more and more..."

2) on the other hand, the strengthening of the Trade Unions is prevented when it limits itself to defending the privileges of the "teaching" categories, thus risking to play the role of "conserver" of the status quo in the long run".

These answers show how, on the one hand, participation in training is seen as an instrumental way of strengthening (besides the production system) the bargaining power of the partners and the industrial-relations system; on the other, how the inefficiency of the participation, in its various aspects, is seen as an impediment to the institutional innovation of industrial interaction and mechanisms

The positive conclusion drawn by one commentator is that participation "strengthens the bargaining power of the partners when real and effective training processes are involved".

Of great interest are, therefore, the changes revealed by the exceptions to the general rule of inefficacy of participation. For example, the experiences of a number of bi-lateral Bodies such as that of the national printing sector, are to be seen as positive. The Body, under co-management régime, has provided (in agreement with the Ministries and other public authorities interested) for the definition of a number of standardized professional profiles within the sector and, on the basis of these profiles for corrisponding training programmes. Those "qualifying" from the courses (on the basis of the 1962 national contract) obtain recognition and relative career prospects corrisponding with these professional profiles. This is an obvious exception compared to other sectors where the problem of standardizing profiles and training contents exists; some have complained, in this regard, about the failure to pass decrees giving statutary definitions of "professionality" as foreseen by the 1978 "legge quadro".

The question of those bilaterally Bodies co-managed was put into the questionnaire, among others, to verify the possibilities of extending or generalizing the model in other sectors. An interest in the formula emerged clearly from the answers, as well as perplexity concerning the difficulties that mechanical transposition might create. On the one hand, at least in theory, the introduction of bilateral Bodies should lead to a greater and more efficacious participation "improving the role and the reliability of training and its strategic integration, beyond its correct collocation in the bargaining context, guiding its development and everyday application within the production process. Besides co-management is expected to improve the competences of the partners in the field of training and increase the number of people capable of tackling training problems. The inquiry reveals that it is deemed necessary to test through an initial experimental phase (which these formulae favour and encourage,) the practical functional difficulties and problems emerging from experience or foreseen for the future. The answers point out the following difficulties: a) it is necessary to guarantee to the Bodies an efficient minimum dimension and at the same time a sufficient coverage of different sectors and regions and an appropriate targetting to the demands of the enterprises; b) it is necessary to bridge the gap in industrial culture and behaviour which still makes our industrial system excessively conflictual and antagonistic; c) it is necessary to redefine the participation system, giving to the joint Bodies a direct-participation role on the Commttees foreseen by the "legge quadro" and by the various Regional laws, which implies reform of the legge quadro itself; d) "it is necessary to avoid, in a concrete way, the worst features emerging in a number of public bodies set up recently", controlling the competence of those running them, avoiding excess legal and contractual impediments, favouring flexibility and efficiency; e) to this precise end, some suggest not giving these bodies any direct managerial responsabilities over the running of training.

The risk to be avoided is that of setting up what one commentator called "inappropriate" joint bodies, like a number already existing, "which guarantee no possibility of encounter to the social partners". "Co - management often proves to become simple co-financing, with no possibility of control".

Other important changes for the better, which the survey identifies are, on the one hand, the tendency towards a greater personal involvement of the workers taking part in training activities; on the other hand, the spread of practices of "informal"interaction among the social partners.Above all it has been noted that alongside traditional formalized agreements, informal types of consultation/negotiations concerning questions of professional training particularily at company level where participation is most wanting, and prevalently limited to "pathological" hypotheses of restructuring and absorption of excess labour occur.This is true in particular of the small firms and is extended to questions concerning the initial training of the newly hired and to "some key-figures more directly involved in process of technological and managerial innovation, and (generally, working figures of medium and medium-high levels)". The consistency of these informal agreements is calculated by one commentator to be round 30% of the total.

As far as the new trends and new institutional forms (re-evaluation of apprenticeship and in-firm training,CFL and continuing training) are concerned, attitudes are not very varied even if perception of the processes taking place is very much heterogeneous. On the question of apprentiship, however, the disagreement remains between those who see it as an outdated mechanism and those who see the scarce consideration given to it as a sign of cultural backwardness. The attention of the partners towards, and their role in,the choice and the quality of training increases both with regard to apprenticeship and CFL.

Cases of framework agreements and particular agreements with the single firms concerning CFL with a view to facilitating recourse to the institutions (and to facilitate the employment of the young) are reported; however there are also cases of participation in decisional and enforcement procedures aimed at negotiating operative modalities of training.

With regard to in firm training, we have already said that it regards training of adults in cases of reconversion, but forms of participation in initial training processes within the smaller and medium firms and in co-operatives also emerge. With regard to continuing training we must mention the expected reform of the C.I.G. (the bill of Jan. 1987) and the setting up of the labour agencies (law on the reform of the labour exchanges): the most interesting innovation trends in this direction regard the job-creation initiatives, enterprise creation or the setting up of co-operatives supported by the larger firms, the local authorities or the specialized agencies.

The prescriptive indications forwarded by the survey are numerous and various. The revision of the "legge quadro", on which point all are in agreement, regards two types of problems: the relationship with the school system and the redefinition of the areas of competence of the central, decentralized and local-autonomous authorities. With regard to the first problem, the answers point towards the need for greater interchange between schools, universities, research centres and professional-training centres, and the promotion of training "stages" and practical coaching during schooling. With regard to the second point the indications are conflicting. The Trade Unions ask for greater de-centralization, while the firms ask for greater flexibility, specia lization, less bureaucratical and procedural differentiation and a more ample directive and co-ordinating role for the Labour Ministry. The priority of intervention and the recommendations concern: greater exchange of information and greater confrontation with other countries; the experimentation of pilot-centres, above all offering services to the firms and at the same time providing training; the opening up of the system to the market, the diversification and pluralism of the training supply; the reduction of the role and the increase of the mobility of the public trainers ; the extention of participation to training in management and enterprise; the intensification of control, the assessment of results and of the ability to plan of the social partners, the control of the efficacy of (enormous) spending connected with training.

A final question concerns access to financing; a certain number of answers held that it would be opportune to make financial benefits available to the single firms, thus avoiding bureaucracy and the inefficacious mediation of the institutions. Not all agree on this point, however, and many would prefer to allow forms of direct and indirect financing of training to co-exist. In this latter case greater control and powers of sanction are requested. Some propose, instead, automatic mechanisms of (partial) "fiscalization" of training costs (that is procuring funds from the tax budget).

SURVEY OF ATTITUDES OF THE SOCIAL PARTNERS CONCERNING PARTICIPATION IN TRAINING ACTIVITIES (1986 - 1987)

SYNOPTIC TABLE

	I1	I2	I3	HI	CI
Qs 1/2/3 The extent of participation in planning	Sufficient but with respect to projecting and contents the trade unions have little weight and the firms great powers of discreation	Sufficient, extensive, widespread	Not sufficient	-	not sufficient
Qs. 4/5 The efficacy of participation - analysis and planning of the training system	Scarce, harmful to administrative efficiency	Scarce	Scarce, absence of assessment of results obtained	-	scarce/inexistent
Q. 6 Specific aspects of participation: programmes and contents	Does not appear	It exists at general level and during formal evaluation of programmes and contents.	Not to be found in a generalized manner, but only on the basis of agreements drawn up by the partners.	-	scarce
Q. 7 Specific aspects of participation: running of training	Does not appear	It is to be seen in an indirect way and has little influence upon real needs	Rare cases of joint managment, difficult to gear to needs.	-	It occurs in Organizations and in Consortia.
Q. 8 Specific aspects: control	It exists, but its efficacy is pratically nil.	Not apparent.	Highly insufficient	-	Does not exist.
Q. 9 Joint evaluation of training processes by the social partners	It does not exist	Not considered sufficient, it takes place locally and sporadically	Does not exist	-	Does not exist generally, only in rare cases.

	C2	O1	O2
Qs. 1/2/3 see p. 155	To be found in particular in cases of the setting up of co-operatives and in case of mobility. The institutional spaces are held to be sufficient, while some regional norms are narrow and participation depends upon the degree to which the regional-local administration works. It is to be found above all in connection with the definition of professional profiles, qualitative standards, intervention modalities.	Sufficient	Not Sufficient
Qs. 4/5 see p. 155	Participation of co-operatives is important and useful, but within the CRI it is minimal and therefore has little influence upon the promotion of changes of a greater weight. It appears quite different from case to case.	Good	Scarce
Q. 6 see p. 155	Participation is considerable in that the institute's programmes are based upon the needs expressed at territorial level. Efficacy depends upon the ability to carry out training aimed at specific targets, and is penalized by the rigidity of the guidelines and the procedures, especially those of the European Social Fund.	Exists but only formally	Not apparent
Q. 7 see p. 155	To be found in the case of some firms and during practical training. Direct management by the social partners favours experimentation and didactic renewal; the rigidity of the assessment criteria, imposed by the procedures, is penalizing.	Exists at regional level but it manifests itself only in the form of preliminary opinion	It exists but is scarcely productive
Q. 8 see p. 155	Only in particular cases.	idem	Irrelevant
Q. 9 see p. 155	Generally yes.	It does not exist at central and national level	Exists in positive form only for CFL

	03	04	05
Qs. 1/2/3 The extent of participation in planning	not sufficient	not sufficient	Scarce, only informative; confrontation only for one specific project (training of managers)
Qs. 4/5 The efficacy of participation - analysis and planning of the training	in concrete not relevant, although the conditions for applying it exist.	scarce	-
Q. 6 Specific aspects of participation: programmes and contents	To be found in the CRI, but there are problems particularly when managed by third parties	not to be found	-
Q. 7 Specific aspects of participation: running of training	Occurs during choice and assessment of projects. The running is handled by others often chosen by the partners.	not to be seen	-
Q. 8 Specific aspects control	to be found in the way pointed out at Q. 7	does not exist	-
Q. 9 Joint evaluation of training processes by the social partners	exists in a positive way within the regional commission for vocational training	there is no institutional place for it	does not exist for training, in the strict sense; it exists in law 113/86 (CFL)

	O 6	S 1	S 2
Qs 1/2/3 see above	Reservations of a prevalently political type re-emerge on the occasions institutionally foreseen. Broad involvement of the social partners in the planning of regional projects should be verified during application and implementation of the regional norms.	Not sufficient	Not sufficient
Qs. 4/5 see above	As per point 2 and 3, one hopes in a more comprehensive planning by means of greater co-ordination with the regional market Observatories, the research centres and the school system and the CRI	Scarce. There are concrete examples with satisfactory results, though only in very limited and particular cases.	Scarce in the training system as a whole
Q. 6 see above	the concrete application of the mechanism should be verified by the central and regional level	to be found only in particular cases (as point 4)	to be found in a concrete way only in relation to plant-level bargaining
Q. 7 see above	idem	not generally to be found; when it is the results are positive.	Not generally to be found but when it does the results for those cases are positive.
Q. 8 see above	idem	It exists in a limited manner as already said at points 4 and 6	it is not developed; it is felt as a necessity.
Q. 9 see above	it is held that it is to be found at institutional level*(ISFOL) or within the Technical Consulting Committees foreseen by law 113/86. * (for example at ISFOL Ministry for Labour Research Institute)	when it does occur the result is considered positive.	It does not occur, except in a number of limited and particular cases:

	S 3	S 1	S 2
Qs. 1/2/3 see above	Not sufficient	Sufficient, but it is hoped that involvement in the institutional area will grow.	Yes, at national level within the Labour Market and Professions Observatory; at regional level during the "Consultative Bodies" that approve participation at local level the extent of participation must be verified case by case.
Qs. 4/5 see above	very limited	good, but it could improve within a framework of greater institutional involvement	The positive trends at regional level towards greater efficiency in the participation of the social partners are not strong enough and may not be regarded as sufficient when compared to the dimensions and the complexity of training needs.
Q. 6 see above	not found at all	it occurs successfully within the bilateral institutions	During preparation of the European Social Fund projects, and in C.F.L.
Q. 7 see above	to be found in training run directly by the trade-union bodies	it occurs as pointed out at question 6	Partially positive due to co-financing by the employers' organizations of initiatives promoted by the regions.
Q. 8 see above	does not exist	it exists and it is positive	Prevelently no, in fact the CRI's control mechanisms are weak. Within the firms the role of the trade unions does not concern for the most part real training processes
Q. 9 see above	normally it does not happen, an attempt is being made to assesses C.F.L. within CRI.	it occurs within bilateral organizations.	Prevalently no, in fact the Observatory works only in a number of regions (Piedmont, Lombardy, Tuscany) and prevalently to evaluate the impact on employment.

	S4	A1
Qs. 1/2/3	The institutional space is sufficient as far as the choice of territorial and sectorial priorities are concerned.	Sufficient as far as general action as qualifying standards are concerned.One hopes for greater agility and correspondence with the needs of the territory.
Qs. 4/5	Scarce and of little efficacy.	There have been no concrete cases.
Q. 6	The efficacy is low and is relieved only by ritual participation during formal phases.	Does not appear.
Q. 7	Only in the case of examination boards and/or in the case of particular experimentation.	As answer n. 6
Q. 8	As the foregoing point.	Only in specific cases and following specific bargaining.
Q. 9	Only in some forms of experimentation.	Only during processes regarding mobility backed by public funding.

	I 1	I 2	I 3
Q. 11 Changes in apprenticeship	Increase of the number of apprentices trained, but ways of controlling the training activity are wanting	There are no significant changes to be noted	they should be achieved concretely by the bilateral bodies which do not yet funtion. Apprenticeship has seen only a few significant experiences, also in the service sector.
Q. 12 Changes in C.F.L. (for young people and the newly hired)	Greater institutional possibility and participation of the social partners within the CRI and at territorial level	idem	In general it is not possible to pass judgement on the C.F.L. as they are a recent institution. In general there is a fault in them in that they are carried out prevalently by means of side-by-side on-the-job coaching. In the case of the medium/large firms there have been instances of agreements between the social partners and the region for the running of the training process.
Q. 13 Changes in adults training	No changes seen Attention towards the new proposals for renewal of C.I.G.	idem	the most significant agreement concerning C.I.G. is that of the GEPI on account of its size, but it has not found any real job openings. There are some examples of the creation of new enterprises, in particular of the co-operative type.
Q. 14 Changes in-firm training	As per point 13, the participation is greater and more influent in cases of reconversion and restructuring	idem	It is not extended to the whole vocational training system. It occurs substantially due to mobility and training of redundant staff (Protocols drawn up with the public firms).
Q. 15 Continuous or episodic participation?	It occurs for exceptional and contingent events	-	the contingent aspect prevails. It regards intervention due to mobility and firm restructuring/reconversion. There is no permanent training for adults, except in a few cases on the basis of bargained agreements
Q. 16 Formal or informal participation?	Participation occurs through informal consultations and applicative practices. During restructuring and/or reconversion if also occurs on the basis of formalized agreements.		The trend is towards agreements.

Q. n. 17 How it effects the bargaining power of the social partners	It strengthens the power of the trades unions allowing them to enter into questions concerning the organization of work, where as for the firms in general and with few exceptions, the opposite is true.	The power of the social partners does not appear weakened; positive the results obtained in the Protocols between the public Companies and the T.U. Confederations.

	H 1	C 1	C 2
Q. 11 see above	=	There are institutional changes concerning the application of Law 863/84 and Decree 113/86 (CFL)	No significant changes are to be noticed
Q. 12 see above	=	Positive changes in employers' attitudes as per point 11	Some important CFL projects have been carried out especially in trade and service sectors.
Q. 13 see above	=	Not felt except in a few cases of job creation	Initiatives for the conversion of enterprises in a state of crisis into co-operatives, especially in the following sectors: manufacturing, agro-food-stuffs and services to firms on the increase.
Q. 14 see above	=	It occurs in the medium/large firms due to reconversion and restructuring processes.	This is more frequent for the newly-employed, for organizational restructuring and/or for new and strategic functions
Q. 15 see above	=	It is of a continuous nature in particular with regard to access to national/EEC funds.	Inter-firm and inter-regional agreements are the most recurring
Q. 16 see above	=	It is to be found following applicative practices.	There are no formalized agreements concerning the intervention of the institutes
Q. 17 see above	=	It neither influences nor modifies	It has been seen that the real participation of the social partners in the training process improves Vocational Training.

	O 1	O 2
Q. 11 see above	Changes are felt in that the C.F.L. represents the historical displacing of apprenticeship. Anyhow one hopes in a relaunching of the institution.	Significant changes can not as yet be felt. One hopes in the greater attention of the social partners to the problem of the quality of vocational training.
Q. 12 see above	Positive changes in the role of the social partners can be felt especially in the direct agreements and in the positive common outlook regarding decisional and implementation practice.	One notes changes in the attitudes of the social partners towards matters concerning choices and the quality of vocational training.
Q. 13 see above	-	There is no significant change in attitude except in the case of requests for funds for the training of those laid off.
Q. 14 see above	It occurs in medium/large firms, in particular in cases of restructuring and reconversion.	The small/medium firms are not usually able to meet the direct costs of training within the firm.
Q. 15 see above	When it occurs it becomes continuous.	One notices a tendency towards a constant use of consultations following changes in the labour market and due to technological innovation
Q. 16 see above	The tendency is toward formalized agreements	In general it is to be found with regard to the application of practices
Q. 17 see above	-	It is held that today the contracting power of the firms is weaker than the political weight of the trade unions.

	O 3	O 4	O 5
Q. 11 see above	In practice there are no significant changes felt, in that the norms of law 25/55, are still applicable; there is considerable economic convenience.	-	there has been a strong internal institutional change which has opened up recruiting to the vocational schools.
Q. 12 see above	There are significant changes with regard to quality and the targetting of vocational training, with top-class results.	No significant changes can be felt, the CFL are stipulated with the institutional organizations.	The public body avails of the special norms. At the present a special project for the employment of the young (law 113/86) is in force.
Q. 13 see above	There are positive changes in carrying out training programmes thanks to the positive roles played by the trade unions.	It has come about in some cases of the reconversion of redundant workers but no significant changes have been felt.	The problem concerns the retraining of un-skilled and, in perspective, mobility processes.
Q. 14 see above	Positive changes can be seen along the entire line.	They have been seen in some cases of the labour mobility of redundant workers. The Protocols undertake to supply ample information and to take suggestions into consideration.	It does not occur in an institutional manner but in perspective should concern the entire area
Q. 15 see above	It occurs in a continuous manner	For internal training it can not be found	As question 14
Q. 16 see above	It takes place after applicative practice	-	Formalized agreements are drawn up as per law 113/86

Q. 17 see above	It certainly strenthens the role of the social partners; the ambiguity of the role of the trade unions remains.	-	If it existed it would strengthen the role of the social partners.

	O 6	S 1
Q. 11 see above	There are no significant changes to be noticed in apprenticeship.	Changes can not be felt, also due to a certain cultural backwardness in the trade unions.
Q. 12 see above	The legislative and negotions changes, within the amoit of CFL which favoured the spread of this type of employment, are considerable.	In general there is no great change in substance. In a number of medium/large realities with a strong tradeunion tradition the operative modalities of training are included in bargaining.
Q. 13 see above	There is a change in the ideological attitude tending to considering training as a productive investment for firm development.	At present the situation has not changed. The trade union holds that the guidance role must be played within the "Labour Agencies".
Q. 14 see above	This does not exist for the newly-employed, in cases of mobility it is expressed principally in company controversy	Is not to be found in the large firms (FIAT-ALFA) in general on account of processes of internal mobility. There are cases in the public area (GEPI) but almost nothing for the newly-employed.
Q. 15 see above	Generally speaking it is continuous as information and is present in tradeunion claims.	It occurs in a number of particular cases but not in a continuous way. The trade unions claim continuity in training especially for the newly-employed.
Q. 16 see above	Generally formalized in the medium/large girms, see IRI and EFIM Protocols.	
Q. 17 see above	It strengthens when it regards real training processes.	It strengthens the role of the trade union.

Q. 11 see above	In 1983 an agreement for the artisan sector was drawn up in which the social partners undertook to set up funds and institutions for the control of the training of apprentices.
Q. 12 see above	Changes are noted particularly in the action of the social partners in defining the general, national and regional agreements: - the Confindustria/Trade Union (National) - the Confapi/Trade Union (National) - the Intersind/Trade Unions (National) - Confcommercio/Trade Union (Regional)
Q. 13 see above	Participation is not a usual practice, it occurs in cases of mobility supported by CIG, there is no lack of exemplary cases of participation.
Q. 14 see above	idem
Q. 15 see above	idem
Q. 16 see above	idem
Q. 17 see above	It is necessary, in order to give an answer, to carry out a detailed survey in the Vocational Training centres.

	S 2	S 3	S 1
Q. 11 see above	No changes are felt, there are negotiations going on.	There are positive tendencies due to the stipulation of national and territorial agreements; lack of regional intervention in matters of information.	-
Q. 12 see above	in general no great changes are seen, which would be obtained by the institutionalization of the role of the social partners.	One hopes for a greater participation by means of formalized agreements and an extention of institutional space far the definition in particular of modalities and employment outlets.	-
Q. 13 see above	.No great changes are felt	Still wanting. Requires a reform of C.I.G.	-
Q. 14 see above	It occurs within the large groups, in CFL and in cases of internal mobility.	To be found only in a few cases of newly-hired and in application of a number of Protocols with public concerns.	Generally yes with regard to printers
Q. 15 see above	It appears in particular as a result of the introduction of the new technologies.	The contingent aspect prevails.	It is continuous, different according to the specific cases.
Q. 16 see above	When it exists it is due to formalized agreements.	Both are to be found in different ways according to the various situations.	By means of targetted agreements and applicative practices.
Q. 17 see above	It strengthens the role of the trade union	Strengthening the power of the social partners.	The contracting power of the socia partners remains unchanged.

	S4	A1
Q.11	No significant changes can be seen.	No significant changes can be seen.
Q. 12	One notes greater attention to trade-union matters, but not to quality.	There have been no CFL in this sector.
Q. 13	Past experiences are considered unsuccessful; there is no longer the will to participate in initiatives having no clear outlet.	No significant changes can be seen.
Q. 14 .	To be seen in some cases of training of redundant staff.	Only in exceptional cases of bargaining concerning redundant staff under CIG and invalids.
Q. 15	It is generally connected with sporadic episodes and is in no way continuous.	Only as a result of exceptional contingent events.
Q. 16	In informal consultations and in implementation practices as an exception to what already said at point 12.	When it does occur it is as a result of formal bargaining and part of implementation practices in the case of public funding.
Q. 17	It does not, strictly speaking, modify bargaining power but allows for the analysis of new problems.	It has no influence.

	I 1	I 2
Q. 18 Assessment of training in Italy today	Inadequate compared with present needs. One hopes for a greater extention to graduates (high-school and university), developing professional training towards a control of innovation	Inadequate as it is a closed system. Greater experimentation and models of alternation between work and training.
Q. 19 The reform of the "legge quadro" on vocational training (lines for reform, short/mid-term priorities and recommendations for the improvement of the institutions.	Upgrading of the quality level of staff and structures, organizational methods, relations with the firms and the social partners. Regional planning must become the centre of relations between schools. universities, and small and large firms.	Relation between professional training and compulsory school. Reformulation of the ambits of intervention.
Q. 20 The most urgent problems (scale of priority)	- reorganization of the planning and control offices for an effective estimate of the activities. - increase in the level of financial resources. - redefinition of the philosophy and practice of activities. - inclusion with a market logic.	- rationalization of relations between professional training and the school - P/T during schooling - reduction of public trainers and increase in room given to external skills. - monitoring function of labour market trends - de-bureaucratization of the procedures.
Q. 21 Recommendations for improving the institutions	- observe the trends in innovation - compare the adequacy of resources (human, technical financial) with the real aims - know how to change continuously even if gradually - dedicate 80% of the time to the activities, 20% to updating and innovation.	block the expansion of the full-time trainers.

	I 3	H 1	D 1
Q. 18 see above	One notes a phase of changes favouring active labour market policies and new tendencies in support of the on-joing innovation in technologies	in certain cases, not bad. Insufficient in relation to the requirements of the new professions.	Regional unbalance lack of a consistent normative framework.
Q. 19 see above	It would be sufficient to interpret the law on the basis of present needs. However due to the changes taking place, revision with a view to what already said at Q. 18, would be useful.	Greater involvement in planning and contents - emanation of decrees concerning the definition occupational and skill profiles. - possibility of practical coaching in firms after the vocational courses held by the region. - greater involvement in the firms through stages...	Greater flexibility and co-ordination
Q. 20 see above	- training of trainers - training executives who are experts in P/T - revision of the places of training - greater planning of the interventions	- enterprenurial ining for creation new firms and updating of management with a view to innovations - professional updating for personal involved in technological innovation processes.	- analytical investigation into needs - definition of clear criteria - greater co-ordination between the centre and the outlying areas through a permanent technical organization - restructuring of the ISFOL - promotion of European Social Fund incentives - more control by the social partners.
Q. 21 see above	- the need of passing from an essentially bureaucratic role to one of project-design and result assessment - distinction between professional training and on the job coaching, so as to increment alternation.	Constant updating of stuff concerning methodologies and contents.	- a generally more critical redefinition of the system - greater level of information to the workers - inclusion of autorized instead of bureaucratical practices - compare experience with other countries'

	C2	C1
Q. 18 see above	dynamic, uncontrolled, wasteful, of medium/low level, not up to the requirements of the labour market, rigid, bureaucratic, prone to favoritism, unbalanced, over-influenced by EEC directives, excessively geared towards wage-earners and the lower skills. The alternation between school and work, between education and production is scarce. There is greater interest in the problem of training.	Diversified and not homogeneous.
Q. 19 see above	- strengthen of the guidance role of the Ministry for labour - revise the aims of professional training - reform apprenticeship-reformulate completely the modalities of the system-set up direct incentive mechanisms for firms and bodies promoting training activities	Debureaucratize and uniform criteria and procedures. The territorial dispersion creates problems for the sector's programmes
Q. 20 see above	- greater flexibility in the procedures - specialization of the structures, and new modalities of a more flexible and short-duration kind. - planning trends should be more autonomous with regard to those of the EEC and the should be greater power of proposal within the European Community. - greater control of merit at formal and informal level	idem
Q. 21 see above	- less rigidness in contracts and in agreements with Regions, introduction of new figures, updating of firms, utilization of external competences, certainty and rapidity of funds, greater administrative control	- constant updating of those involved - career incentives - professionality and meritocracy.

	O 2	O 5
Q. 18 see above	Very confused, inadequate compared to real needs	The complexity of the situation has escaped the control of the experts Scarcity of financial resources to incentive training within the firms.
Q. 19 see above	need for updating in connection with processes of technological innovation	Create greater markets for professional training putting an end to the present monopoly. The firms lack a significant role in running the system
Q. 20 see above	-direct relations between regional authorities and firm representatives -permanent commission for the planning of courses having the effective power of allocation resources -maintainance of constant relations with the firms -involvement of the schools -convergence of various institutional sectors in the regional planning committee	- greater efficacy and control of public spending - strong diversification of training offered - new incentives for the firms investing in training (tax relief)
Q. 21 see above	It can be achieved better by bodies and Institutions or by anyone. Q. 20 are taken into consideration.	Incentivate the mobility of teachers - requalification of the training structures - inclusion of elements of enterprising "culture"

	04	05	06
Q. 18	Only partially positive. Two negative aspects: the cost of bridging the gaps in the public training system are laid upon the shoulders of the firms; the times between supply and demand of training have become longer. No response is given to the need for flexibility and technological innovation.	Different, depending upon whether training is in the firm or in the public institutions. The intervention of the firms appears more efficacious. The public system besides being lacking is also scarcely productive.	It is prevalently orientated towards consolidated sectors. It is fragmentary and wanting as far as changes caused by innovation are concerne
Q .19	Revision of the exclusive competence of the Regions in planning and running training. The need for greater coordination and the participation of the social partners in order to discover jointly effective needs.	-	Needed: 1) Greater co-ordination between training processes and schools, 2) a clear distinction between training for youths and for adults, and also between central and regional competences, 3) a clear indication of where orientation and co-ordination are to be carried out.
Q. 20	-Revision of the "Legge Quadro" - Reconversion of structures and the role of teachers. -Greater coherence of training to the needs of production.	-	Vocational orientation Reform of the Labour Exchanges.
Q. 21	-	A general plan for training is required from which emerge: - the programmatic lines, -systematic collaboration with research centres, -adherence to the present and mid-term requests of the market.	The Regions must become the centres of planning. Pluralism of training initiatives must be favoured.

	S 1	S 2	S 3
Q. 18 see above	Extremely defective, almost nothing works; in the north, in general courses for obsolete and old professions are held, in the south the situation is even worse	Extremely defective, the training are not addressed in correct terms.	Extremely confused ex-tempore and not targetted at labour policies. Little attention to the problem of new professional profiles, except in a few cases
Q. 19 see above	closer link with the local economic and social structures, and with the schools, universities and research centres	Greater decentralization and flexibility. Greater role for the Regions.	Greater role of the regions in planning a greater coordination between the central and the local authorities. Greater flexibility and a greater role for the Social partners in projecting, planning; the need for control of results.
Q. 20 see above	- requalification of public trainers - investment in structures and instruments - specialization and skilling for young people with a general schooling - introduction of courses for the refresher training of the employed	- Observatory of the labour market - a complete overhauling of the training process with great corrispondence to real needs - transformation of the regional training centres into service centres	- the creation of vocational guidance Committes - training of the trainers - elimination of automatic mechanism for payment of consolidated debts;funds of training structures. - rationalization of the relationship with the schools - setting up of pilot centres in collaboration with the schools - greater role of the firms
Q. 21 see above	- the institutions must carry out a role of liaison and integration so as to utilize to the most professional capabilities existing on the market - reduction of the importance of the public trainers	- improvement of the bureaucratic organization and competence of the subjects - creation of experts competent in Professional training systems - debureaucraticization and qualification of the structures.	- the realization of real control by the regions - greater flexibility - verification of the results obtained by training interventions

	E 1	E 2
Q. 18 see above	not satisfactory at all, at least for the printing sector	The training system is at a low ebb of - unbalance between ambitious legislation and the scarce quality of the structures - qualitative level of intervention is low - lack of co-ordination with the productive system - lack of training for adults
Q. 19 see above	It is necessary to respond to specific needs some industrial sector with regard to types of courses and duration of training activities.	- review of the delegation system and revaluation of the role of the firms - strengthens of training for adults - retraining of the staff institutionally involved -liason with the school particularly in connection with orientation of the young and of adults
Q. 20 see above		within the lines set down by the Ministry for Labour there is urgent need for a deep-rooted reform of the modalities for running the professional training centres
Q. 21 see above		- training of regional personnel at all levels involved in planning and carrying out professional training - training of the staff with the task of controlling training activities - development of an Observatoring system - opening up to the utilization of competences coming from the market.

	S4	A1
Q. 18	The present state of things is not uniform. Training in the institutions is not connected with the working world while within the firms it is assuming greater and greater importance.	It is not in keeping with the needs of the labour market.
Q. 19	It is necessary, but not with a view to greater centralization. Rigidness must be illiminated and non-institutional skills recognised.	It is required in order to create greater collaboration between the State and the Regio Greater flexibility, more experimentation an greater collaboration between the institution and enterprise achieved.
Q. 20	- Study of the labour market and its mechanisms - Greater integration between vocational training and enterprise required . - Training of the trainers	- Multipurpose prgramme and contents - Training of the trainers with continuing refresher courses.
Q. 21	Greater attention to the services area and concrete assessment of the results.	It is necessary to intervene with regard to the quality of the organization of the vocational training system. Forms of collaboration between the parties directly involved must be set up with recourse to research and experimentation.

	I 1	I 2	I 3
Q. 22 Modality for access to national and EEC funds	Indirect access but only for large-scale. For the firms probably direct access, with public control and adequate powers of sanction	The need for institutional mediation in connection with access to funds	
Q. 23 Participation by the Social partners in the training of trainers.	Very limited	limited to general planning of intervention.	The training of trainers takes place following bargaining with the representative organizations. The role of the firms non - existent.
Q. 24 Impact of the joint and/or bilateral organizations upon improvement of the professional training system	Certainly, yes, as the permanent place for confrontation and choice of the interventions. The best method is that of the co-managed forms using common funds obtained even by means of pay increases.	Difficult to estimate at the present, need for verification of results in time.	The public and bilateral bodies seem useful for the raising of the qualitative and the "tailored" aspects of training.

	H 1	C 1	C 2
Q. 22 see above	Preferibly direct access	Preferibly direct access with greater control of the implementation of the activities	Maintain both forms, differentiating them in the different cases
Q. 23 see above	Very limited	Foreseeing new professional figures able to design evaluate and control projects.	Non existent
Q. 24 see above	Positive, as long as training concerning specifically finalized projects be carried out	Redefinition of the national character and of the aspects of the joint bodies	Positive, on condition that they are not involved in actual running.

	O 1	O 2	O 3
Q. 22 see above	There are problems of quality to be considered case by case. Institutional mediation is overly bureaucratic.	It might be achieved more easily by bodies and institutions or by anyone as set down at answer 20	Preferably through direct channels but within the small/medium firms it is better to favour cooperatives and associations between firms.
Q. 23 see above	-	Does not exist	It does not exist at the moment, but the need for it is felt
Q. 24 see above	Difficult to judge: it is a problem presently featuring in the bargaining agenda.	No, the only guarantee is represented by the actual working of the Commission as per Q. 20.	Only in some cases, because the idea of co-management is a distant cultural reality. Set up concrete common experimentation on specific problems concerning the involvement of the social partners.

	O 4	O 5	O 6
Q. 22			
see above	Preferably direct access	Direct access is more practicable except in the cases of forms of employment of the young according to the special laws	Maintain both forms as complementary the one to the other
Q. 23			
see above	It does not exist in the present state of affairs	As question 22	Yes
Q. 24			
see above	See answer to question n. 19	In general it is held that these bodies have a positive effect. It is a hypothesis difficult to actuate under present industrial-relations conditions	Yes, there is a concrete case being experimented in connection with school orientation. The active participation of the social partners is the answer to a precise demand for integration in the training system, coming from the young themselves.

	S 1	S 2	S 3
Q. 22 see above	The educational and training level and skill qualification must be established by the institutions. Therefore direct access must be accompanied by precise guarantees over the single firms by the public authorities.	Both systems can coexist but greater collaboration between firms is to be hoped for.	-
Q. 23 see above	Does not exist in the present set - up	Probably yes in the direct relationship between the trade union organizations and the regions.	Only contractual interventions on skills exist. All the rest missing and this is a central problem in professional training.
Q. 24 see above	Theoretically it should be useful as it regards those directly involved. The present experience is limited and fragmentary and does not allow one to understand the reasons for its bad and insufficient functioning.	Useful for greater involvement of the social partners and for the setting up of a new phase based on joint - management models	Yes in that it acts as a buffer in case of conflict. It can also better the link between training supply and demand.

	E 1	E2
Q. 22 see above	Direct access is preferable, also seen our own positive experience in the sector.	
Q. 23 see above	Yes, directly through the intervention of the provincial bodies and committees for professional education of printers	The answer is prevalently negative
Q. 24 see above	Yes, very positive on the basis of experience being carried out since 1950	There are very few concrete cases in Italy that should be verified. In general; - on a theoretical plain answer is yes - the concrete relationship between training and production would improve - the institutional competence of the social partners concerning the training problem would improve - the bodies should be run on strictly managerial lines avoiding stasis and rigidity and resistences that characterize in the worst sense some of the public participations bodies of recent institution.

	S4	A1
Q. 22	It is preferable to maintain both direct and indirect access.	Direct access is advisable.
Q. 23	It is limited to planning of intervention and is almost non-existent as far as running and control are concerned.	It is limited to the final assessment phase and only to cases involving public funding.
Q. 24	The effect should be positive and should improve quality if they are tailored as services to the firms and to meet the needs of the Working world.	They would be useful as mechanisms of control and orinetation of activities

Chapter five

Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Awareness of the crisis as a premise to change.

Points of Crisis and new trends in participation in the training system: these are the focuses of the present report. The analysis and the attempt at explaining the deficiences proceed hand in hand with the identification and the assessment of the innovations taking place in the role of social partners.

Both the empirical survey concerning the attitudes of the social partners and the case-studies offer important material in support the initial thesis of this study: that is, that the crisis of vocational training is closely connected with that in industrial relations, and that, therefore, an improvement in the quality of participations in the training process is required both for the efficacy of training and for the functioning of the dialogue between the social partners.

Awareness of the state of crisis in which vocational training and participation in training stand appears from the survey, to be widespread and critical. Two are the discriminating features of this state of crisis: on the one hand, the insufficiency and inadequacy of existing participation; on the other, the absense of the role and of the participation of the social partners in many fields crucial to the training experiences, particulary those offering more prospects for the future.

Existing participation is judged as being limited, generally inefficacious or even harmful at times, insofar as it takes the form of bureaucratic topheaviness, of impediment against-and rigidness in-reconversion of labour processes, inadequate in handling the new demand and in stimulating and requalifying the supply. Of equal gravity are the problems posed by the participation that is non-existent, because the social partners are absent (in those sectors devoid of the Trade Unions), because participation is "submerged", in that the workers and employers are not represented by collective organizations belonging to the industrial-relations system, or, finally, because participation is "hidden", in that the workers and the firms act "informally" within their organizations and are unable to influence policy and/or make their experiences known.

Both the reasons for inefficacy and those for absense are linked with the "quality" of the industrial-relations system and with the "defects" caused by its failure to come up to date and meet the changes taking place in the industrial-economic conditions of the eighties. The most importent factors which emerged from the survey are the following:

1) First of all, the "conflict-dependent" nature of participation, connected with contract deadlines or with the settlement of industrial disputes. Thus training appears more functional to the "pathology" than to the normal, consensual management of social relations. The conflict-solving or conflict-preventive function of training prevails over the physiological and regulating one and adapts itself with difficulty to a process such as training which takes place in a continuum following slow, gradual timing and pace, that is the timing and pace of learning. The clash between the continuous process involved in training and the episodic character of the attention of the partners leads to a low incidence of influence and above all, creates the impression that agreements, the contracts, the legislative achievement even the structures and institutions of participation have little effect upon the real process which goes along its own way.

2) The "politicization" of the role played by the partners. This characteristic, which reflects an aspect of Italian industrial-relations system, is perceived, frequently as a limitation of efficacy. Of course, "politicalness" and political conflict in industrial relations are not in themselves symptoms of malfunctioning. They are seen as such, however, when they "exploit" the themes of training to fight more general battles of a political nature, when they do not take into account the specific aspects of the training question, and become the tools of ideological rigidness, of preconception, prejudice, of abstraction and superficiality, In recent years a return to and a trend towards the development of a less political and conflictual system of industrial relations, with greater attention towards real problems, including training, have been noticed. The importance in this context of the role of the Trade Unions' Research Institutions has been pointed out.

3) The "distance" between the subjects represented and institutionalized representation in the industrial-relations system. The single workers and single employers who avail of the training processes often remain mere objects rather than the subjects of participation in training processes, and remain outside and without influence. The growing complexity and diversification of the industrial production structures, the demand for and instruments of flexibility pose with growing insistence and increasing frequency the question of the adequacy of the representation system, when they do not question the very legitimacy of representation itself. The lack of clarity as to whom the social partners represent, as to their mandate, as to its extent, as to what constraints of control and accountability they are subject to, and even more so as to whom they do not represent, does not facilitate the solution of the conflict of interests involved in training and leads to the belief that there is a broad rift between institu-

tional mediation and the grounds of encounter by the partners, that are often hidden or "submerged" by informal practice.

4) The inefficient "professionality" and lack of specific competence of the Social partners involvement. Also due to the prevalence of the aims of political control, not always do the partners appear able to master and therefore condition the technicalities involved in the training process, pedagogical matters, organization and institutional questions, and aspects connected with the economic and technological workings of the labour market. Besides, the demand by the production system for specific training of a technological-technical, non-standard, tailor-made nature, closely targetted for professional profiles and job prospects, is on the increase.. The growing gap in competence has often been transformed into an excessive and uncontrolled delegating, with regard to the concrete aspects of training, to the experts, to the "professional trainers", to the executives responsible for training, thus privileging measures "half way" between "basic education" or "the promotion of industrial culture" and strictly professional training, and thus inadequate at both of these levels.

5) And finally, the difficulties met by participation in understanding, following and favouring innovation and the experimentations emerging in the training process. This point deserves to be illustrated through some (though not exhaustive) examples which this study has pin-pointed.

5-1) It has been pointed out (see the ISFOL-CESOS research too) how the role of the social partners is particularily lacking with regard to in-firm training. Nonetheless, it assumes weight and importance in bargaining within the larger enterprises or groups, above all in relation to the more serious production and de-industrialization crises, in connection with (and/or in alternative to) recourse to CIG and for workers having medium to low skills. It is widely accepted, however, that new training trends are taking the symmetrically opposite direction towards re-evaluation of in - firm training even within the smaller to medium size firms, in new and up-and-coming sectors and for workers with medium to high level skills. This contrast illustrates the "comparative disadvantage" which displaces and penalizes the traditional and consolidated role of the social partners.

5-2) The relationship between training processes and the internal labour market, that is the organization of work, qualification systems, pay scales, career structures and internal mobility etc. is becoming more important. On the one hand, the need to recognise and re-evaluate the role of the social partners is thus reinforced. In fact training involves the more proper and traditional terrains of industrial negotiations. On the other, this role meets greater difficulties on account of the quality of participation as illustrated above. In order that participation in training may condition the internal labour markets it must be less controversial and more procedural and continuous, be aimed more at skill specificity and be less vague, general and basic. Besides, the dialogue between the partners at firm level is the most critical area as far as the insufficiency of the industrial - relations system is concerned. In many firms, above all in the small and medium-sized sectors, there are no industrial relations at firm level and therefore participation, if it exists at all, follows informal and sometimes extra-tradeunion practices. This explains the apparent contradictions that the case-study in the banking sector evidenced: that in those very internal markets where there is greater development, where training takes on an explicit industrial-relations significance, due to reasons of objective incidence, the role of the social partners often tends to be slight and marginal. There is, from this point of view, almost a trading off between the quantity and the quality of participation, between the quantity of negotiated or consensual regulation required to make the internal market work and the conditioning presenee of the social partners formally changed with negotiation power.

5-3) The double significance of professional training: on the one hand, as investment in human capital and in the social and political advancement of workers, and on the other hand as an instrument of the firms' organization of production, is reflected in the counterpoising, used traditionally in trade-union argumentations, between "true training" and "mere coaching or updating". A more technical and less emotional way of expressing this difference refers to the different "marketability" on the external (MEL) and the internal labour (MIL) markets. The existing participation mechanism, for the reasons already mentioned, allow for greater interaction in matters of training for the external market; that is training with a very high social-emancipation and civil content which the workers avail of as individual (Uti Singuli) i.e. independently from their specific skills. "Coaching" instead is considered largely beyond the scope of institutionalized industrial - relations mechanisms. This leads , however, to at least two further contradictions: on the one hand, the traditional "refusal" of training that does not go beyond a mere production investment is a necessary corollary to the limited involvement of the trade unions within the firms and in firm-specific questions, which has characterized the Italian industrial-relations mechanism (see Pizzorno) developed during the post-war period. This has implied a limited amount of rules governing in-firm activities, with the institutionalized presence of the social partners limited to the larger firms and connected with general and not firm-specific questions and with social protection objectives. On the other hand, the urge towards strengthening industrial relations has led to loading MEL training with structuring contents (proper to MIL) by conceiving MEL almost "as if it were" MIL on the basis of systematic and "organistic" visions borrowed from the prevailing ideologies (i.e. Catholicism and socialism). The outcome has been contextual excess of participation, given the fact that the consensual management procedures tend to manifest themselves as rigidness and as an impediment to MEL, and at the same time as a lack of participation because the partners remain on the margins as far as the processes of restructuring of MIL are concerned. The contradiction lies in the fact that the partners end up playing a greater role in "deregulating" training processes (to meet the flexibilization requirements of the market) than the role they play in "re - regulating", that is, in establishing new rules to govern the internal labour market.

5.2 Innovations and trends

Parallelly to the growth of awareness of the crisis and of the difficulties, indications of positive outlets and of innovating and experimental experiences are on the increase. In general a number of tendencies emerge, to a certain extent common to those emerging in other European countries, towards which research and the demand for greater efficacy of participation in the training system, are orientated.

1) First of all there is a tendency to overcome the "formal" level of participation, which limits itself to defining the normative framework of national and regional legislation or of collective bargaining and to arrive at company-level agreements. This trend moves, roughly speaking, in two main directions: on the one hand, participation tends to follow the practices of implementation of the norms and the agreements. These practices concern the phase of realization and control of training, the effective carrying out of projects, the operative targetting of training to meet the needs of restructuring in production, of access selection, of mobility etc.. On the other hand, participation becomes more continuous, less connected with contreversy and conflict, and also more concerned with evaluation and control. Conspicuous examples of these trends are on the one hand the acceptance, within some recent agreements concerning CFL, of the "silence-consent"principle, as a condition for the automatic approval of training projects; and on the other, some firm-specific agreements (such as ITALTEL) which foresee a role for the social partners during the entire course of conception, planning implementation and evaluation of the training process.

2) A second qualifying innovation is the tendency to extend moments of participation to the effective running of the processes. This way the role of the social partners has to face handling the specific aspects of the training process; from outlining the contents to foreseeing outlets; from methods of financing, to the organization of courses; from the definition and control of curricula to the choice/assessment of teaching staff; from participation on the examination boards to establishing training standards. If the prevailing experience sees the role of the partners as limited to planning and direction on the one hand, and on the other to controlling and assessing, there are also a number of experiences carried out within traditional jointly managed training bodies such as the printing and building sectors. There are being looked at with growing interest in the hope of expending to other sectors or areas, the modalities of direct management by the social partners. In recent renewal of contracts, a number of forms of joint Committee or of Bilateral Bodies having observation and councelling powers also with regard to matters of training, have been adopted. These cases have been examined in chapter two.

3) A third tendency is that towards enrichment, towards sectorial, local and territorial diversification of participation in the training system. In this way the supply of labour tends to adjust to the demand which is radically changed by the modalities, the intensity and the pace of technological change. "The training supply tends to place itself closer and closer to the source of innovation... each time that the change in working conditions requires new types of know-how and new multi-discipline structure (Vita)". With the need of targetting training processes, the possibility of standardizing diminishes, reference-models lose their value. In this new context freedom of planning, the role of the single

worker and firm, participation at local level, public/private and institution/market interaction, are all exalted. One of the leit motifs running through proposals of reform of the "legge quadro" (framework law) is this: that of re-defining relations between the central and the local authorities in matters of training, and of providing for forms of direct support of " training promoted by firm initiatives" ("formazione di iniziativa aziendale"). The corrispondence between the structure of training supply and the demand should be guaranteed by the labour market's decentralized institutions (Observatories, Agencies, Labour Exchanges) in which representatives of the social partners participate. However, this exigency is not devoid of countertendencies, of resistence, of contradictory thrusts, in the name of a quest for co-ordination and planning from above and in the face of risks of duplication, overlapping,dispersion of resources which multiplication and diversification of initiatives can lead to.

4) A parallel trend is that towards the extension and multiplication of the confrontation/negotiations/conflict terrain within the training system. This extension concerns new collective sujects (let us recall the cadres' organizations) new professional profiles (managerial and enterprise training) new institutional instruments (Data Banks, Observatoriess for the analysis and control of qualifications and technologies, Centres offering services to firms). In this latter case training is highly specialized and targetted, in that it becomes a part of a services packet aimed at specific objectives: youth employment, aid to small firms, technological support etc..

5) There is renewed emphasis upon in-firm training and upon participation in training within the firm. The reasons are of both a technological/organization and of an industrial-relations nature. On the one hand, there is greater demand for higher white collar and managerial (often firm-specific) qualifications. Other reasons are restructuring of the internal labour markets and of the careers system, the need for flexibility in organization, for multipurpose qualifications and for systems of informatics. Therefore on-the-job coaching is no longer sufficient but instituzionalized training (also of a theoretical nature) at firm level is required. On the other hand, there is a demand for greater control by the firms over the training processes, in order to guarantee greater targetting and adaptability. There is also the need for the trade unions not to be excluded from the control of microeconomic processes and the need to strengthen and render more concrete its presence within the firms.

The form that this re-evaluation takes are fundamentally three:

(a) First of all the experience of the CFL. The agreements on these have played an important part in simplifying and de-regulating the procedures, in disciplining the specific aspects of training (hours dedicated to theoretical and technical-practical training, trainers, certification, employment, outlets, the place, the institutions, subsequent placement etc.) in creating bilateral technical commissions etc.. There are also examples of CFL at local level such as those of the Unione Industriale of Turin and the Federliguria (Turin's and Liguria's Employers Associations) concerning small to medium sized firms, which have seen considerable tradeunion involvement.

(b) Secondly, tradeunion participation and involvement in in-firm training processes has been noticeable in the case of restructuring and shakingout of surplus staff. This role has been formalized of company-level agreements such as those of the FIAT, ITALTEL or Alfa Romeo.

(c) Finally, some large enterprises have re-evaluated their own training centres (as is the case of Elea-Olivetti, Isvor-Fiat, Reiss Romoli etc.). In some cases there have been requests for information and participation in the activity of these institutions especially by the cadres' associations.

6) Vocational training has become one of the privileged grounds for innovation and experimentation in industrial democracy. The Protocols stipulated between the trade unions Confederations and the public-sector companies (IRI, EFIM, GEPI)all contain more or less ample provisions. In some cases joint committees for training have been set up (see GEPI). In other cases "training and information seminars... promoted jointly" are foreseen. Finally in other agreements on the matter vocational orientation and school-to-work transition have been drawn up (see Intersind-Trade Unions).

7) Lastly, training has become a central element in job creation and enterprise creation policies, within strategies of intervention in local systems (local employment initiatives). In these cases training is connected with partners offering packets of services to the firms (especially to new and innovative ones), and creating a network of intervention, involving training, research and education. In all these initiatives at a still largely experimental phase,

the involvement of the social partners is seen as a necessary component of what has been called an "endegenous development model". (Fua').

Trends and innovations in a phase of transition and change inevitably create contradictions, overlapping, sometimes confusion, often error and dissatisfaction. Equally inevitable in this state of affairs is the emergence of a demand for rationalization, co-ordination and revision of the legal framework. The social partners too have supported this demand that has recently taken the form of proposals for reform of the laws governing vocational training, in particular the "framework" law of 1977.

It is probably too soon to assess the outlets and outcomes of this experimental phase, and to codify them in terms of a "definitive" re-definition of the legal framework. The recent proposals of the Labour Ministry have, nonetheless, clearly identified a number of decisive themes for confrontation, involving the social partners too, into which to channel research and further experimentation. First of all the link between the training system and education policies: to what extent basic vocational education can or must be made available by the school-university system and to what extent it requires the ad hoc para-scholastic structures of the public or semi-public training organizations? We seem to note a converging trend towards the "de-scholarization" of training and towards the "professionalization" of schooling particularly at higher levels. The second theme of reform is that of the centralized-decentralized institutional organization of training and therefore of participation in that system: further de-centralization and/or recentralization, co-ordination among the various levels of institutionals autonomy and/or the competitive multiplication of structures and initiatives? This report points out some trends in innovation and experimentation carried out that have an important bearing on this question: that is the tendency towards "bargained deregulation" aimed at creating new areas for bargaining, that is the substitution of legislative and contractual obligations by specific bargaining procedure geared towards decentralization and plant-level agreements. The agreements concerning CFL which accept the "silence is consent" principle move along these lines and attribute to participation in jointly- managed local technical-consulting organizations an essentially arbitration function (besides the planning function) rather than a management-administrative one. This tendency seems to us to represent the intersection between parallel processes of the evolution of the training system and industrial relations: the relaunching of bargaining, the "legification" and simplification of administrative constraints, decentralization and attention to local systems, the bilateral dimension (in agreements and in institutions) and direct relations between the S.P. without public intermediation, the emergense of new subjects such as the cadres' organizations, youth movements etc.. Certainly these tendencies come up against the above mentione difficulty of making the social dialogue work within the training process at firm level, particularily inside small firms, and against similar difficulties met by the new firms, the growing importance of which within the industrial structure, is widely recognised. There are significant experiences of agreement and participation initiatives at local level aimed at supporting the creations of new firms. There are also interesting cases of training in managerial and entrepreneur skills within the ambit of policies of enterprise-creation. It has still to be seen how and to what extent this will involve *single entrepreneurs*, new and potential entrepreneurs, and *individual workers*, young people in search of a first job; and the unemployed. It remains to be seen what happens where the industrial-relations mechanisms are wanting, or there is no training activity, and if it is possible to devise incentives powerful enough (not necessarily coersive and binding legislation) to institutionalize and render effective participation in the training system.

It is well known that the training system in Italy is characterized by a fundamental dualism: that between *"explicit" and "institutional" training* and *implicit or "submerged" training* which is based upon decentralization of production, precarious employment in small subcontracting firms, the learning implicit in the creation (or rather the creative destruction) of firms. Even industrial relations have their own "implicit" or submerged dimension which often proceeds hand in hand with submerged training processes.

The great challenge of the nineties is to make these hidden processes emerge and be re-institutionalized in order to give a more decisive and representative role to the social partners and greater efficacy to training.

Due to the fact, as mentioned in the historical analysis, that the strategies of the social partners have played a considerable role in "submerging" a part of the training processes and of the industrial-relations system, this task becomes not only necessary but also possible.

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